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# Illinois Issues

February 2002 \$3.95

*A publication of the University of Illinois at Springfield*

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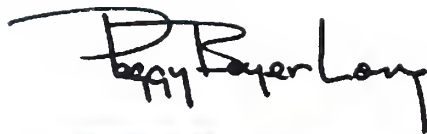
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## Nothing like the adrenaline rush of a hard-fought campaign

by Peggy Boyer Long

**T**he 2002 primary season should be in full swing when this magazine reaches your mailbox.

By late last month, in the days before we sent our February edition to the printer, two of the Republicans who want to be governor had displaced the hard-hit auto industry's zero percent financing pitches with televised ads of their own — counter-punching one another's positions on abortion. And cheerful, but no-nonsense phone bank volunteers were interrupting dinners to ask whether the name of one of the Democrats who wants to be governor rings a bell.

What gives? Illinois voters won't go to the polls to choose their party nominees for executive and legislative posts until March 19. But then, Election Day is really the icing on the cake. It's these last weeks leading up to the balloting that lend Illinois politics its distinctive flavor.

And I, for one, am not complaining. Some might rightly argue there are far too many elections, and way too much politicking in this state. But that's a decidedly narrow view of the matter. As for the alternative, where would be the fun in that?

A focused and informed electorate is crucial, of course. No one here would argue otherwise. Candidates matter. Ideas have consequences. That's why we've gone to such lengths, in this and

in our January issue, to introduce the candidates in the statewide, legislative and congressional races.

But let's face it. They're only part of the story. There's nothing quite like the adrenaline rush that goes with a hard-fought Illinois-style campaign. Even for those who are merely watching.

I'll admit it. I like the high drama, and the high jinks, of those dueling TV ads. I admire the energy of phone bankers and door knockers, the kind of folks who have enough strength in their convictions to interrupt regular programming, to let our dinners grow cold.

And I have even encouraged the intrusive attentions of the "push" pollster, especially when the candidate who covertly commissioned the call has had an especially nasty "negative" to overcome.

One election, I was thrilled to get a call from former U.S. Sen. Paul Simon, who took the time to remind me to vote and recommend whom I might vote for. Sure, he had recorded the call earlier, but who could cut off a Paul Simon, even an electronic one? I listened politely, thanked him, then hung up.

To those who remind us that elections have become big business, I counter that, for the most part, local and state campaigns are still waged close to the ground. They are run in the

margins of those plus and minus tally sheets organized block by block, in the stop-the-heart, down-to-the-wire voter pull on Election Day. Not for nothing do strategists warn novice campaigners that elections can be, and have been, won or lost by as little as one vote per precinct.

We have written in this magazine, too, that "career" motivations drive much of Illinois' political culture. In Springfield, and some portions of Chicago, it's hard to miss the validity of this notion. But that doesn't entirely explain the homemaker who can be counted on to host candidate coffees, the student who stays up all night planning voter forums, the guy who displays tacky billboard-size posters on his otherwise perfect lawn.

And it doesn't explain the enduring attraction of political paraphernalia. Not really. My own collection of political buttons, for instance, numbers somewhere around a hundred, not counting duplicates. Most of the candidates they promote are long dead, or well beyond anyone's aspirations to the public payroll. Yet each still radiates the hopes of a moment in time.

That's what it's about, too.

Everything the critics say about political campaigns may well be true. And yet, elections are still about the hopes, and yes, the aspirations of our moment in time. □

*Editor:* Peggy Boyer Long

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*marketing manager:* Charlene Lambert

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*Columnists:* Robert Davis  
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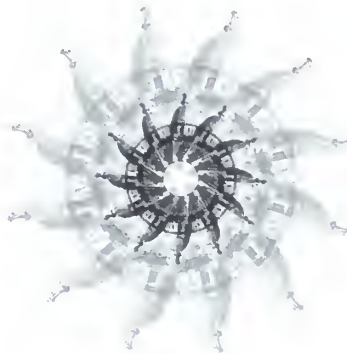
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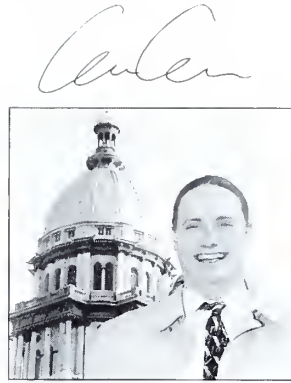
by Charles N. Wheeler III  
*One-party races after renap*

Credits: Art director Diana Nelson designed this month's cover.

**Editorial and business office:** HRB 10, University of Illinois at Springfield, P.O. Box 19243, Springfield, IL 62794-9243. Telephone: 217-206-6084. Fax: 217-206-7257. E-mail: [illinoisissues@uis.edu](mailto:illinoisissues@uis.edu). E-mail editor: [boyer-long.peggy@uis.edu](mailto:boyer-long.peggy@uis.edu).  
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*Illinois Issues* is published by the University of Illinois at Springfield. In addition to university support and subscription income, the magazine is supported by grants and donations. The contents of the magazine do not necessarily reflect the views of the university or the donors.



## Change is nothing new in the Illinois legislature

by Aaron Chambers

**S**tanley Weaver has seen plenty over the course of a long political career.

When this Republican arrived in the General Assembly in 1969, some 400,000 young people were preparing to join Jimi Hendrix, Joe Cocker and Janis Joplin at a three-day concert on a farm in upstate New York. And Neil Armstrong was training to land on the moon.

Closer to home, a new governor, Republican Richard Ogilvie, was busy devising a revolution in state finance, including Illinois' first income tax, a Bureau of the Budget overseen by his office and annual budget-making with the legislature.

By the close of Weaver's single term in the House, Illinoisans had adopted a new Constitution that realigned the powers of state and local governments. Municipalities like Urbana, where Weaver had served as mayor for 12 years, were given authority to make decisions outside the scope of powers enumerated in statute. Previously, those towns needed legislative approval just to change the color of the lights on their emergency vehicles.

The years following Weaver's move to the Senate were no less dramatic. U.S. troops pulled out of Vietnam in 1973, President Richard Nixon resigned the following year and the

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*To some, Stanley Weaver's departure from the General Assembly after 34 years probably seems unthinkable. He's retiring at the end of this year, along with many other seasoned legislative colleagues.*

Vietnam War ended the year after that.

And Illinois politics changed forever. In 1976, Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley died of a heart attack, bringing to a close an era of Democratic Machine control of the legislature. Four years later, the so-called "Cutback Amendment" to the state Constitution reduced the size of the House by a third, ending the careers of many independent-minded lawmakers and boosting the power of the leadership.

"All change is not good but all change is not bad," Weaver says. "I think the work product has improved.

"Of course, the budget has gone way up, too. We've taken on more responsibility for various programs that used to be handled at the local

level. We've provided funds to areas that years ago were probably unthinkable."

To some, Weaver's departure from the General Assembly after 34 years probably seems unthinkable. He's retiring at the end of this year, along with many other seasoned legislative colleagues. In fact, 24 lawmakers are not running again for the legislature; among them are nine senators and 15 representatives.

Some will be edged out by a new legislative map, of course. But Weaver's decision to leave was personal. "I'm 76 years old. It takes a lot of energy, and sometimes that leaves you at this age. You don't seem to get as much accomplished in 24 hours as you used to."

Yet, as Senate majority leader, Weaver is decidedly at the top of his game. He's right-hand man to Senate President James "Pate" Philip, that chamber's GOP leader. As Philip's eyes and ears, he chairs the Senate Rules Committee, which screens all legislation in the chamber.

But he'll be missed for other reasons, as well. The former mortician managed to provide a calming voice for his GOP colleagues. "Sen. Weaver is the one member who repeatedly reminds us that the state Senate should be a gentleman's or gentlewoman's chamber, and his loss could affect the overall temperament of the Senate," says Sen. Kirk Dillard, a Hinsdale Republican.

This could be a crucial political moment for that chamber. After nearly a decade in the majority, the Senate Republicans will be fighting to retain their partisan edge. The Democrats won the right to draw the map, and they did that with an eye toward benefiting their party. The GOP faces an uncertain election year.

One thing is certain. The Senate Republican caucus will lose a good deal of experience next year.

Besides Weaver, two other key members of Philip's leadership team will leave the legislature, as well as the Republican chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee, one of the chamber's most prestigious. Sen. Walter Dudycz of Chicago and



Sen. John Maitland of Bloomington, both assistant majority leaders, are retiring. Sen. Carl Hawkinson of Galesburg, the committee chair, is running for lieutenant governor.

Still, change is part of the process in the General Assembly. "The rest of us are going to have to step up to the plate a lot more in terms of those who will assume leadership posts and who will become more-senior members," says Sen. David Sullivan, a Park Ridge Republican and one of the caucus' rising stars. "We're going to have to do more for the caucus."

While they aren't out the door yet — there's almost a year left in their terms — these Republicans are looking forward to the future and reflecting on their time at the Capitol. Each brought expertise to the table, and developed strong relationships with particular constituent bases.

For Weaver, it's been the University of Illinois. His district encompasses the university's main campus; he's regarded as the school's champion in the legislature and is credited with helping secure state funds time and again.

For Maitland, it's been agriculture. Before he suffered a stroke two years ago, prompting a decision to retire, he was a grain farmer. He has worked for farmers in the Senate since 1979. In 1999, for example, he engineered legislation designed to put teeth into the Livestock Management Facilities Act, the state law that regulates large livestock operations. Along with the loss of Sen. Duane Noland, a Blue Mound Republican and farmer who is leaving the Senate, Maitland's departure is measured as a huge loss for that constituency.

"We have so few farmers in the General Assembly that I for one anyway hate to see any of them leave," says Larry Quandt, president of the Illinois Farmers Union.

For Hawkinson, the Judiciary Committee chair, it's been criminal and civil law. Before joining the Senate in 1987, he served as Knox County state's attorney for four years. He continued in private practice for much of his tenure in the legislature. And while there, he spearheaded some of the

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***Tom Ryder, a Jerseyville Republican and House deputy minority leader, already has taken a position with the Illinois Community College Board.***

more significant reforms in the law, including the Juvenile Justice Reform Act, which provides tougher sanctions and increases the role communities play in the court system. He also sponsored legislation to provide more money for death penalty trials, an effort to alleviate the disparate funding in those cases.

"He practices law and understands the very real and practical effects that our legislation has on the practice of law, for lawyers in this state and also for individuals who are part and parcel in the criminal justice system and the civil justice system on a daily basis," says Sen. Ed Petka, a Plainfield Republican and former Will County state's attorney. "Experience like that is very difficult to replace."

Jim Covington, a lobbyist for the Illinois State Bar Association and a former Senate Republican lawyer who staffed the Judiciary Committee under Hawkinson, agrees. "It's going to mean a fairly sizable difference at first because Hawkinson was a strong chairman in that he really read all the bills and the analysis for the bills before every committee hearing," he says. "And the new chairman or chairwoman may be a little more hands off."

Hawkinson isn't worried about the committee, though. He says there are plenty of quality people capable of performing its work, whether the committee is led by a Republican, or a Democrat such as Sen. John Cullerton of Chicago, the committee's minority spokesman.

"I think the committee will continue to do the good work that it does," Hawkinson says. "Nobody is

indispensable down there."

Dudycz's constituency has been the state's police officers and firefighters. The former Chicago police detective has gone to bat for them since joining the Senate in 1985, helping them at one point to win the right to bargain collectively.

Dudycz also plays a unique role as the only GOP senator from Chicago, a Democratic stronghold. At work in the legislature, he helped bridge the divide between Democrats from that city and Republicans from the suburbs and downstate. That hasn't always been easy. "Many times I was viewed by the Republicans as one of the Chicagoans, and many times I was viewed by the Democrats as one of the Republicans. So I was in no-man's-land," he says. "The void will be that the city of Chicago will not have a voice in the Senate Republican caucus."

But Dudycz says he's tired of gruelling campaigns. He has been a constant target of Democratic contenders and always had to fight hard to keep his seat. With the new map, Dudycz would have had to decide whether to run this year against Sen. James DeLeo, a Chicago Democrat, or Sullivan, the Park Ridge Republican. And if he beat Sullivan, Dudycz would have had to move to that nearby district to run for re-election.

Meanwhile, the House Republican caucus is losing some of its veteran leadership, too. Tom Ryder of Jerseyville, who was a deputy minority leader, already has taken a position with the Illinois Community College Board. He had spent nearly 20 years developing expertise on state budgets.

But, again, change is nothing new for the legislature, especially after a remap. The General Assembly will adjust, as will those who are leaving.

As Dudycz, the former detective, puts it: "Many of my colleagues get into trouble when they believe that 'representative' or 'senator' has transformed them into a different person. I've always said that the job of legislator is a title that we all hold temporarily. Some of us hold it much longer than others, but this is something that belongs to the people." □

# BRIEFLY

## Read Lincoln

*Courtesy of the Illinois State Historical Library*

Stacy Pratt McDermott, a scholar of the 19th century, was a contributor to *In Tender Consideration: Women, Families, and the Law in Lincoln's Illinois*, a collection of essays edited by Daniel W. Stowell that will be published this year by the University of Illinois Press. Anchored by case studies from Lincoln's law practice, the essays illustrate the ways in which circuit court records can assist in rewriting legal history from the bottom up and finding meaning in the social and familial ramifications of the law on typical, antebellum Illinoisans.

*The Editors*

**T**housands of publications devoted to Abraham Lincoln have appeared in the 136 years since his death.

In fact, no president or other historical figure in the United States has inspired more, and there appears to be no end to the curiosities of scholars and enthusiasts. Every year, historians and authors with varying degrees of scholarly intent write dozens of books and articles about Lincoln's life, times and presidency. In turn, millions of readers buy books, clip articles and watch television programs devoted to the 16th president.

Unfortunately, many of the publications that appear each year combine to create a virtual wasteland of mediocre assessments. Books on Lincoln are often rushed to publication, lack sound documentation, ignore standards of scholarly historical inquiry and capitalize on sensational topics — as in the recent and controversial claims of some authors that Lincoln was a homosexual and a racist. Due to the mixed quality of works and the sheer volume of materials published every year, casual readers of history, Lincoln enthusiasts and even Lincoln scholars are faced with the task of wading through stacks of unimportant books and articles to find the most worthwhile contributions.

Yet good, and even excellent, scholar-



ship on Illinois' favorite son does exist. A half dozen or so books emerge each year as evidence.

Five worthwhile volumes on Lincoln appeared last year. This selection illustrates some of the topical diversity that is characteristic of Lincoln scholarship and represents a sampling of the forms it can take. Most of all, it demonstrates that even in the midst of the plethora of Lincoln books, significant volumes worthy of our effort and attention are available. In their own way, each of these featured books enhances the quality of the "Lincoln field" through their individual contributions to our understanding of one of the most intriguing and inspiring heroes in American history.

**Lincoln & Davis: Imagining America, 1809-1865** by Brian R. Dirck, University Press of Kansas.

An assistant professor of history at Anderson University in Anderson, Ind., Dirck examines the national imaginations of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. He offers an interesting comparative analysis of the ways in which familial and political experiences shaped each of these leaders.

This book delves into the intellects of both Civil War presidents in an attempt to come to terms with the distinct differences between the two men's understanding of nationalism and their contrasting visions of America. But at the same time, Dirck expresses, through Lincoln and Davis, the primary competing philosophies of the mid-19th century. He identifies both as patriots, offers some provocative assessments of each and raises questions about the mythical image of Abraham Lincoln and the relative scholarly neglect of Jefferson Davis.

**War of Words: Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War Press** by Harry J. Maihafer, Brassey's Inc.

Written by an author of popular histories, this book analyzes the ways Lincoln used the press in conducting the Civil War.

Maihafer highlights how Lincoln developed relationships with journalists in an effort to win the support of newspaper editors for his policies and to help sway public opinion during the war. Lincoln was an astute politician, and his understanding of the ways the press could make or break a candidate or political issue comes to life in this treatment.

This author doesn't use many of the rich primary sources one might expect, but his interpretation of Lincoln and the Civil War press is sound. A journalist by training, Maihafer doesn't read his evidence with the discerning eye of a trained historian, but his book is a lively and enjoyable read for anyone interested in a straightforward treatment.

**The Young Eagle: The Rise of Abraham Lincoln** by Kenneth J. Winkle, Taylor Trade Publishing.

This is one of those rare books that devotes full attention to the formative stages of Lincoln's life.

It recognizes the role that New Salem and the legal profession played in developing the man who would later write such important American documents as the Gettysburg Address and the Emanci-

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pation Proclamation. And it challenges previous psychological approaches to understanding Lincoln, offering instead a cultural history analysis that examines how Lincoln's familial, social, political, professional and personal experiences shaped him.

Winkle's approach positions Lincoln as a typical, antebellum Midwesterner. His book emphasizes the context of frontier experiences and how they shaped not only Lincoln, but others like him. This author offers a refreshing, quiet perspective on Lincoln that downplays myth and offers a more human examination of one of the greatest political leaders in American history.

**The Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print** by *Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Boritt and Mark E. Neely Jr., University of Illinois Press.*

This beautifully illustrated volume tells the story of the printmakers of Lincoln's

era and how antebellum political culture shaped their work.

It discusses the 19th-century market for political prints, and examines how images that various printmakers captured of Lincoln continue to influence and enforce his position as an American icon.

Photographs, paintings and political cartoons are used to illustrate Lincoln's human and mythical qualities and demonstrate the ways in which his contemporaries viewed him.

Prepared by three well-respected Lincoln scholars, this book is a good history and an excellent assemblage of many of the images of Lincoln that we have come to associate with our understanding of who he was and what he means to us as individuals and as a nation.

**The Lincoln Enigma: The Changing Faces of an American Icon**, edited by *Gabor Boritt, Oxford University Press.*

In this collection of essays, some of the

most respected Lincoln scholars of our generation examine Lincoln from myriad perspectives. For example, the volume challenges recent claims by gay rights activists that Lincoln had homosexual relationships, tackles his perspective on the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, probes his psyche and presents two opposing essays on the Lincolns' marriage.

The authors of these essays include two Pulitzer Prize-winning historians and three recipients of the Lincoln Prize.

Readers will appreciate the format of shorter, concentrated pieces and the diversity of topics Boritt has brought together in this book. The volume is a must-have reader for the serious student of Lincoln and the enthusiast.

*Stacy Pratt McDermott  
Assistant editor, Papers of Abraham Lincoln  
Springfield*

## TWO STEPS BACK Budget cut plan stalls

As of mid-January, Gov. George Ryan appeared to be moving backward in his efforts to trim the state's \$53 billion budget following his office's projected \$500 million deficit.

Legislative leaders agreed last month to push a plan to give the governor authority to make 5 percent cuts in agencies under his control. The measure was approved by a wide margin in the Senate, but it came up three votes short in the House.

The governor suggested lawmakers in the Democrat-controlled House didn't follow through because of timing. "It's an election year. Some of these folks didn't have the backbone to step up and do what they needed to do," Ryan told reporters.

These and previous efforts to trim the budget drew opposition from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 31, the union serving 75,000 state employees. Cuts the governor announced in November included a one-day furlough for state employees, closure of the Joliet Correctional Center and a portion of the Elgin Mental Health Center and privatization of services in state facilities.

Ryan has called for privatization of prison food services and housekeeping at institutions serving the disabled and the mentally ill.

Meanwhile, the governor reversed himself on \$28 million of the \$485 million in cuts he announced late last fall. Restored were \$24 million in reimbursements to hospitals that serve a large number of Medicaid recipients and a \$4 million program offering community college courses at state prisons.

Ryan had initially called for trimming \$114 million in Medicaid reimbursements to hospitals.

*Maureen Foertsch McKinney*

## MAYORS' SURVEY Homelessness is up

Major cities throughout the United States, including Chicago, reported a surge in homelessness in 2001.

Requests for emergency shelter increased an average of 13 percent last year in 27 major cities surveyed by the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

In Chicago, the increase in all requests for emergency shelter topped the national average at 22 percent. The increase in the number of families with children seeking shelter was even greater, according to the survey, which covered a period between November 1, 2000, and October 31, 2001. In Chicago, the 35 percent increase in families seeking shelter topped the 22 percent national increase in that category.

Those city officials surveyed were nearly unanimous in believing that the growth in homelessness will continue this year. They pointed to the September 11 terrorist attacks, which exacerbated an already weakened economy, as the driving force behind the increase.

Cities participating in the survey, which also covered hunger and the availability of services, included Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Seattle, St. Louis and Washington, D.C.

*Maureen Foertsch McKinney*

## SUBSIDIES IN DISPUTE Congress has yet to rewrite ag policy

Farm groups are hopeful the U.S. Senate can produce a new agriculture bill early this year, despite the partisan bickering that bogged the debate down in December.

That's going to be tough.

A number of contentious issues remain and neither the Senate's majority Democrats nor the Republicans appear ready to retreat. The question is how best to revamp a Depression-era farm policy that benefits a small percentage of the nation's farmers, primarily large producers of corn, wheat, cotton and rice.

The Democrat-written Senate bill and a bill that passed the GOP-controlled House in October would greatly increase subsidies to farmers, though they differ in the details. The White House opposes both versions, saying increased subsidies would encourage overproduction and lower prices, as well as violate trade agreements.

Senate Democrats accused Republicans in December of filibustering, but couldn't

muster enough votes to cut off debate. A GOP alternative favored by President George W. Bush also failed.

When the Senate bill returns to the floor, a fight is expected over payment limitations. A bipartisan group of senators, including Illinois' Sen. Peter Fitzgerald, a Republican from Inverness, wants to change the proposal to further limit the amount of federal aid that can go to individual farmers. The pending Senate bill limits payments to \$500,000 a year, while the House cap is \$550,000.

While such limits are opposed by most farm groups, Fitzgerald says individual farmers support the concept. "I think, ultimately, public support for the farm safety net will be weakened if we have more stories about enormous payments going to the wealthiest farmers or to Fortune 500 companies or to NBA stars."

He's referring to recent publicity given to some high-profile nonfarmers — including

media mogul Ted Turner, basketball player Scottie Pippen, the University of Illinois and Caterpillar Inc. — who harvest crop subsidies simply by owning land.

Beyond that, farm program benefits go to just 40 percent of farms nationwide, according to a recent analysis of government farm subsidy data by the Washington, D.C.-based Environmental Working Group. Almost half of the federal dollars go to the nation's largest farms. In Illinois, 10 percent of farm aid recipients collected 60 percent of the funds in the past five years.

In fact, the current farm bill, approved in 1996, was aimed at weaning agriculture off such subsidies. However, low crop prices led Congress to approve more than \$30 billion in bailouts in recent years, prompting a review of that policy.

Both the House and Senate bills would increase spending on conservation programs, which is seen by many as a way to funnel farm aid to more smaller farms and to states that haven't historically benefited. But that, too, has attracted controversy.

The American Farm Bureau has threatened to oppose the Senate bill over a provision aimed at encouraging western farmers to divert more of their scarce water resources from irrigating their fields in order to protect endangered species. And environmentalists are seeking to block growing livestock operations from receiving conservation funds.

Declining reserves in the federal budget could be a problem, too. Farm groups had lobbied unsuccessfully for the Senate to pass its version before the holiday break so that a House-Senate compromise could be reached that would lock in current generous budget allotments.

Though Bush has committed to supporting a \$73.5 billion increase for farm programs over 10 years, some fear new budget estimates expected in late January will reduce available ag funding.

The current farm law doesn't expire until September. But the political climate in an election year — when control of the Senate is at stake — is certain to make any agreement more difficult to reach.

*Dori Meinert  
Copley News Service  
Washington, D.C.*



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## STIX

### Illinoisans plan to spend despite a worsening economy

A University of Illinois at Springfield survey shows a majority of Illinoisans have some sense that the state's economy is slowing, but the same study finds that a third of those asked are willing to spend money on big-ticket items anyway.

The survey was conducted in the fall. Forty-five percent of respondents thought the state's economy was getting worse. A year earlier only 18 percent thought so. The UIS survey also reveals that 67 percent of Illinoisans thought the national economy was getting worse, while a year ago only 17 percent thought so.

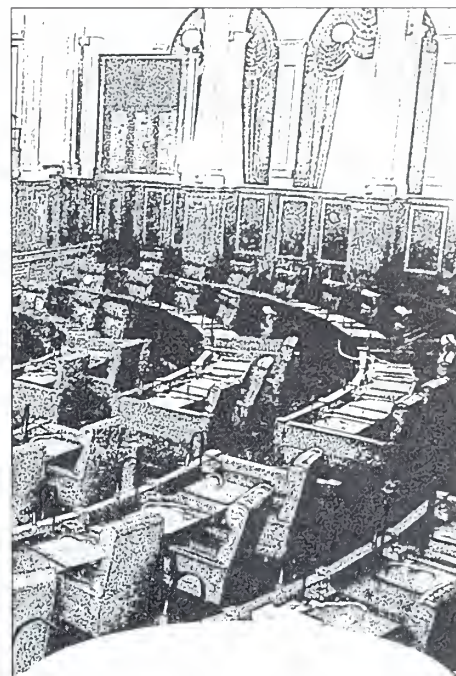
But there may be cause for optimism. Last summer, 23 percent of those asked by the UIS survey team said they planned to make a major purchase in the next six months. By fall, 35 percent of Illinoisans surveyed said they planned to spend money on such items as cars, boats, appliances or major home improvements. Sean Hogan, assistant director of the survey research office, notes that while respondents "perceive the national economy to be worsening, at the same time we have people saying their own financial situations are the same."

The survey research office will conduct a follow-up study and post results on its Web site at [sro.uis.edu](http://sro.uis.edu).

Meanwhile, another economic measure, the University of Illinois' Flash Index, should give pause. It shows that the state's economy has been slowing since March 2001. That month saw the first economic contraction since November 1992. The index is prepared each month by the Urbana-Champaign campus' Institute of Government and Public Affairs. It uses a weighted average of growth rates in the state's corporate earnings, personal income and consumer spending. That data is available at [www.igpa.uiuc.edu](http://www.igpa.uiuc.edu).

The slumping economy will be of particular concern in state budget negotiations at the Capitol this spring.

Roddi Whelpley



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### University of Illinois at Springfield Economy and Personal Finance Poll

Would you say that during the past year the Illinois economy has gotten worse, gotten better or stayed about the same?

	<u>FALL 2001</u>	<u>SUMMER 2001</u>	<u>FALL 2000</u>
Better	6.9%	5%	28%
Same	40.8%	41%	50%
Worse	45.2%	51%	18%

In the next six months or so, do you plan on making any major purchases like buying a car, a boat or making a big home improvement?

	<u>FALL 2001</u>	<u>SUMMER 2001</u>	<u>FALL 2000</u>
Yes	35.1%	23%	NA
No	61.5%	77%	NA

Source: October 10-November 5, 2001, telephone survey of 715 Illinois adults conducted by the Institute for Public Affairs Survey Research Office, University of Illinois at Springfield. Margin of error is plus or minus 3.7 percentage points. On the Web at [sro.uis.edu/Economy.htm](http://sro.uis.edu/Economy.htm).

### 2001 University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Flash Index

<u>JAN.</u>	<u>FEB.</u>	<u>MAR.</u>	<u>APR.</u>	<u>MAY</u>	<u>JUN.</u>	<u>JUL.</u>	<u>AUG.</u>	<u>SEP.</u>	<u>OCT.</u>	<u>NOV.</u>	<u>DEC.</u>
101.2	100.8	99.7	101.3	98.9	98.4	98.3	98.0	98.2	98.4	98.0	97.8

Note: A rating below 100 indicates a slowing economy. On the Web at [www.igpa.uiuc.edu/conforum/default.htm](http://www.igpa.uiuc.edu/conforum/default.htm).

## CAHOKIA CACHE 1,000-year-old time capsule

Just after the turn of the first millennium, residents of Illinois' fertile river bottoms placed newly fashioned tools in a pit near a house on a hill in their farming community located one day's walk from the metropolis of Cahokia.

Now, 900 years later, a University of Illinois archaeology professor is studying the 70 celts, or unfinished axeheads, in an effort to determine what they tell us about the society that buried them.

"So many were made to be buried, not to be used [some steps in manufacturing were skipped], that the tools in this cache are clearly ritually significant," says Tim Pauketat, who led the field study near present-day O'Fallon last summer and has the collection at the university's Urbana-Champaign campus.

These types of dedicatory offerings are common in many societies around the world, says Pauketat. "It's a way people work out complex social relationships



University of Illinois archaeologists and students are cleaning and removing ceremonial axeheads that were buried in a pit 900 years ago and found last summer near present-day O'Fallon.

that involve power, religion, inequality, obligation and cultural values. It all points to Cahokia as a world-class early civilization."

Cahokia was a political and cultural center from A.D. 700 to 1400. Thomas Emerson, a UIUC archaeologist, describes in *Discover Illinois Archaeology* the transformation of "lifeways" of the American Bottom population about the time the axehead cache was buried.

"The Mississippian people," he writes, "left their tribal villages and clustered into one of several large temple mound and plaza centers." The towns became the residences of religious and political leaders and crafts specialists. Most of their followers probably lived in the surrounding rural areas. Small family groups in the countryside were the primary producers of the maize that allowed the towns to exist. "The leaders of Cahokia," writes Emerson, "were responsible for organizing large communal feasts and celebrations of religious and political events, which were a major factor in maintaining group solidarity."

Pauketat says the O'Fallon axehead cache fits a pattern of Cahokians attempting to integrate the community that they relied on for food. The archaeologists know from this site

and previous discoveries that many people were involved in the manufacture of axes. The stone to make these 70 axes came from the St. Francois Mountain area near Ironton, Mo. It's likely, says Pauketat, that the Cahokians gave the raw material to the farmers, who then fashioned the tools and gave them to whoever buried them in the pit.

"The axehead cache drives home the point that Cahokians were pursuing all means to integrate the populace — mound building, temple construction and craft production," says Pauketat. "There's also the possibility the axes are telling us the Cahokians were quite interested in clearing the woodlands away from the Mississippi floodplain to increase farm production."

Whatever the tool kit still has to tell archaeologists, it was meant to impress. One of the axeheads, at 18 inches long and 25 pounds, is among the largest ever found. The size of this celt, and the number in the pit, leads Pauketat and other researchers to believe they were placed there as part of a ceremony.

"They aren't just a pile of tools accidentally left behind," he says.

Beverley Scobell

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## A NATIONAL ID? States to cooperate

In what critics call a prelude to de facto national identification cards, officials in all 50 states agreed to cooperate on upgrading and standardizing driver's license security features. The American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators unveiled the group's strategy last month, noting several of the September 11 terrorists are believed to have fraudulently obtained licenses.

The nationwide plan is broad and vague. Randy Nehrt, a spokesman for the Illinois secretary of state's office, says this state's driver's licenses already meet or exceed the association's standards. But he notes the group did not say how uniformity should be accomplished.

U.S. Sen. Dick Durbin, a Springfield Democrat, plans to introduce legislation this month to require the U.S. Department of Transportation, in conjunction with the association, to develop criteria to make licenses uniform.

The association's plan does not call for creation of an integrated database for personal information. But privacy advocates say that if the goal is to prevent terrorism, creation of such a database is implied. "National IDs will have to be coupled with a database to track your movements and suspicious money transfers and suspicious purchases, and soon enough that points to a surveillance society," says Chris Hoofnagle, legislative counsel to the Electronic Privacy Information Center.

*Aaron Chambers*

## GOP KEEPS HOPE ALIVE Federal court to rule on map

Illinois Republicans are running out of time — and issues — in their attempt to overturn the state's new, Democrat-drawn legislative map.

The GOP contested the map in federal court on grounds that it does not give blacks and Hispanics enough leverage to elect minority lawmakers, it's politically unfair and the process leading up to the map's adoption was flawed. Only one issue remains: whether it gives blacks enough opportunities to elect their own lawmakers as required by federal law.

A decision by the three-judge federal panel isn't expected until early or mid-February.

Republicans already lost challenges in the Illinois Supreme Court, where they couched their proposals in terms of "compactness" because the state Constitution requires districts to be "compact, contiguous and substantially equal in population." The Democratic majority on the state's high court held last month that Republicans placed too much emphasis on the compactness requirement.

The clock is ticking for the GOP. Illinois election officials certified the ballot for state candidates January 17, and the primary election is little more than a month away.

*Dan Vock  
Statehouse bureau*

*Chicago Daily Law Bulletin*

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## Kids Count 2002 Picture is rosy for the moment

In some respects, the quality of life for Illinois' children has improved in recent years.

But the organization that arrived at that assessment in its "Illinois Kids Count 2002" report warns that such gains as increased availability of health insurance may be short-lived because of the weakened economy.

Though an estimated 12 percent of Illinois' children still lack health insurance, the number of children covered through Medicaid or the federal- and state-backed KidCare program has grown since 1998. Enrollment in KidCare surged more than 400 percent from 1998 to 2001, while the number receiving Medicaid support in that same time period rose 3 percent.

That's according to Voices for

Illinois Children, a nonprofit child advocacy group. The group's report was compiled with financial help from the Annie E. Casey Foundation. The foundation, through its annual Kids Count project, aims to assess the quality of life of children throughout the country.

According to the report, Illinois has been a nationwide leader in reducing the number of children in foster care, which in this state fell 41 percent from 1998 to 2001.

In those years, the number of children removed from their homes because of abuse or neglect declined 42 percent. Also between 1998 and 2001, the number of child abuse and neglect cases dropped 11 percent to 27,049.

Meanwhile, federal welfare reform resulted in a 64 percent drop from 1997 to 2001 in the number of Illinois children receiving Temporary Assistance to Needy Families.

On a bleak note, "Illinois Kids Count 2002" estimates that one in five Illinois children — 624,000 of 3.2 million — live in working-poor families.

Illinois does not fare well in a national measure of affordable housing, either. The report estimates that an Illinois worker earning a minimum wage would have to work 116 hours a week to pay for a two-bedroom apartment at this state's fair market rent of \$776 per month.

The report also raised concerns about the availability of quality, affordable child care. The number of licensed child care centers dropped 10 percent between 1999 and 2000.

"While there are encouraging signs of improvement in the lives of Illinois children, we must remember that we are not where we want to be as a state," the report cautions.

*Maureen Foertsch McKinney*

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# Political kaleidoscope

The new legislative map reflects shifts in Illinois' population, but Democrats hope they've also crafted a partisan realignment in the state Senate

by Aaron Chambers

Illustration by Diana Nelson and photographs by Jon Randolph

Jeff Schoenberg is in the catbird seat.

His new Senate district just to the north of Chicago is largely Democratic, and home to thousands of Jews. Schoenberg is a Democrat; he's also Jewish. And he does especially well with these constituencies.

Beyond upscale Evanston, his hometown, the new 9th District encompasses some of the state's most affluent communities. It stretches north through Wilmette, Winnetka and Kenilworth, and west through parts of Skokie, Morton Grove, Glenview and Northbrook. The economic downturn isn't readily apparent here: New homes are going up everywhere. These voters are prosperous movers and shakers, and, by and large, they're social liberals and fiscal conservatives.

This is Schoenberg's kind of crowd.

On a tour of the district, he chuckles as he drives by the Barnum & Bagel, a restaurant in Skokie where he used to film a cable television show. "I would have guests

sit down and have breakfast with me and people got a big kick out of it," he says. "It was supposed to be like a bunch of friends getting together and talking about various issues, politics or whatever."

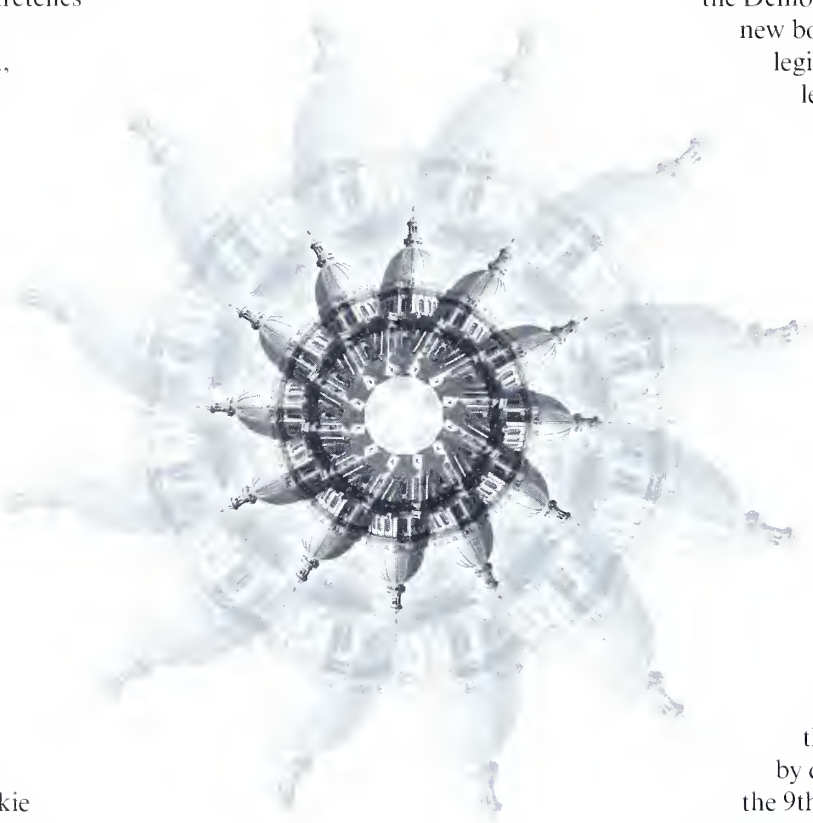
Schoenberg can't claim this district, at least not yet; he's still a state representative and, officially, only a

contender for the Senate seat. But the odds are against his opponent, little-known Wilmette Republican Robin Thybony. After all, this district was drawn just for Schoenberg.

He's serving his sixth term in the House and, while he's not in leadership, he chairs the Appropriations-General Services Committee. Last year he explored a run for state treasurer. But, Schoenberg says, after the Democrats won the right to draw new boundaries for the state's legislative districts, party leaders persuaded him to help "lead the charge" for control of the Senate.

That will be the chamber to watch in the coming months.

Republicans hold the majority in the Senate now, with 32 members to the Democrats' 27. But the once-a-decade remap, required to reflect shifts in the state's population, increases the potential for partisan change. And the Democrats gave themselves every advantage by drawing districts, including the 9th, that favor their party. They drew a favorable House map, too. But that chamber is already





controlled by the Democrats, 62 to 56. In fact, Democratic Speaker Michael Madigan of Chicago has managed to win a majority in four of the last five elections, despite facing a map drawn by the GOP 10 years ago. Republicans face especially long odds this year in the House.

The real partisan battle is shaping up in the Senate. And there's plenty at stake. A Democratic win in the Senate likely will mean Democratic control of the General Assembly — if, as expected, that party retains the House. The Democrats haven't enjoyed this power in a decade.

Further, Illinois is in line to help tip the balance of power among the nation's legislatures. According to the National Conference of State Legislatures, Republicans and Democrats control 17 legislatures each; the other 15, including Illinois, are split. (Nebraska's legislature is unicameral and nonpartisan.) As in Illinois, the political parties in other states are expected to focus considerable capital on the legislative races.

And for good reason. Partisan control determines a legislature's policy agenda. Gun control measures, for example, routinely pass the Illinois House but die in the Senate. That more conservative chamber also is not nearly as generous as the House when it comes to human services spending.

To reverse their fortunes in the Senate, the Democrats will need to hang on to 27 seats and win three more.

This scenario is not as straightforward as it seems. Three Democratic incumbents won't be returning and one incumbent faces a serious challenge. Sen. Lisa Madigan of Chicago opted to run for state attorney general, Sen. Robert Molaro of Chicago is running for a House seat and Sen. Evelyn Bowles of Edwardsville is retiring. In addition, Sen. William O'Daniel of Mount Vernon in the southern region of the state is facing a formidable challenge from GOP Rep. John Jones, also of Mount Vernon. O'Daniel's victory is not assured.

That leaves the Senate Democrats with 23 seats held by seemingly secure

incumbents. But there's more to the equation. There are two new Chicago-based Hispanic districts that presumably will be filled by Democrats. And Bowles' seat in Metro East, a Democratic stronghold, is expected to be filled by Madison County State's Attorney William Haine, a Democrat who is running unopposed.

Now that's 26 Senate seats the Democrats consider secure in their corner, not including O'Daniel's. By this calculation, they'll need to win four more seats to get the 30 votes required for control of the Senate. So they've set their sights on six priority races. They consider three of the six districts safely in their camp and three competitive. Only two of these priority districts, including O'Daniel's, lie outside the Chicago suburban region.

Party leaders won't speculate about their chances. But privately, candidates and campaign strategists contend the Democrats are working with a Senate map that virtually ensures 30 to 32 Democratic seats in that chamber.

Not so fast, say others. Even a Democrat-drawn map offers no guarantees.

"There are a lot of people out there who have already come to the conclusion that the Senate is likely to be in Democratic hands," says Todd Maisch, vice president of government affairs at the Illinois Chamber of Commerce. "I think those people have jumped the gun; it's going to be a battle down to Election Day. And it's very likely that neither party will have a margin for error: whoever has control will have 30 votes."

For their part, Senate Republicans have been less forthcoming about strategy. They challenged the map in state and federal court, arguing it's politically "unfair," and that the remap commission's deliberations last summer violated due process. The Illinois Supreme Court, which consists of five Democrats and two Republicans, upheld the map. The federal district court heard arguments in mid-January.

Nevertheless, candidates from both parties filed for office in December.

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*The real partisan battle is shaping up in the Senate. And there's plenty at stake. A Democratic win in the Senate likely will mean Democratic control of the General Assembly — if, as expected, that party retains the House. The Democrats haven't enjoyed this power in a decade.*

The campaign season is under way.

And Senate Democrats have their work cut out for them going into November. David Gross, the Senate Democratic political director, says he's not taking any of his party's six priority races for granted. He says it's difficult to predict with any precision voter turnout for either party in any given district. "I classify all those [six] districts as swing races."

Still, three of those races are likely to favor Democrats. Besides the 9th, there's the 19th District, encompassing the far southwest suburbs, and the 39th District, encompassing the near northwest.

The new 19th District reaches from Orland Park south to Tinley Park and southeast to Park Forest. Rep. Maggie Crotty, an Oak Forest Democrat, is the only candidate who filed. Under state election law, though, the parties have until early May to slate candidates for spots where there is no party nominee coming out of the March primary.

Crotty is serving her third term in the House, where she has focused on health and school-related issues.

She was elected in 1996 when the Democrats swept the southwest suburbs. Communities there had been growing more Democratic and, in an effort to regain control of the House — Republicans had control in 1995 and 1996 — Madigan, now House speaker and chair of the Illinois

Democratic Party, targeted those districts. Crotty, together with James Brosnahan of Evergreen Park, George Scully Jr. of Flossmoor, Mary Kay O'Brien of Coal City, Kevin McCarthy of Orland Park and Mike Giglio of Lansing, helped the Democrats regain their majority in the House. If she has a disadvantage in this race, it's that she currently represents only a small portion of the new Senate district. "Whether I'm opposed or not opposed, I'm going to work very hard to make sure people know me," Crotty says.

The 39th District runs from a tip of Chicago's West Side northwest through Franklin Park to O'Hare International Airport. Don Harmon, an Oak Park Democrat and associate with the Chicago law firm of Mayer, Brown & Platt, is running for this seat. Harmon is Oak Park Township Democratic committeeman. The University of Chicago law school graduate served in 1995 as legal counsel for then-House Minority Leader Madigan. He has not run for office before.

"This is one of the most diverse districts that I could imagine," Harmon says. "It runs from the west side of the city through Oak Park and Oak Forest. It picks up communities like Elmwood Park, River Grove, Rosemont, Bensenville, the airport. I think the issues that will resonate with voters from corner to corner are truly the bread and butter issues: job creation, education, health care and improving the quality of life for our kids."

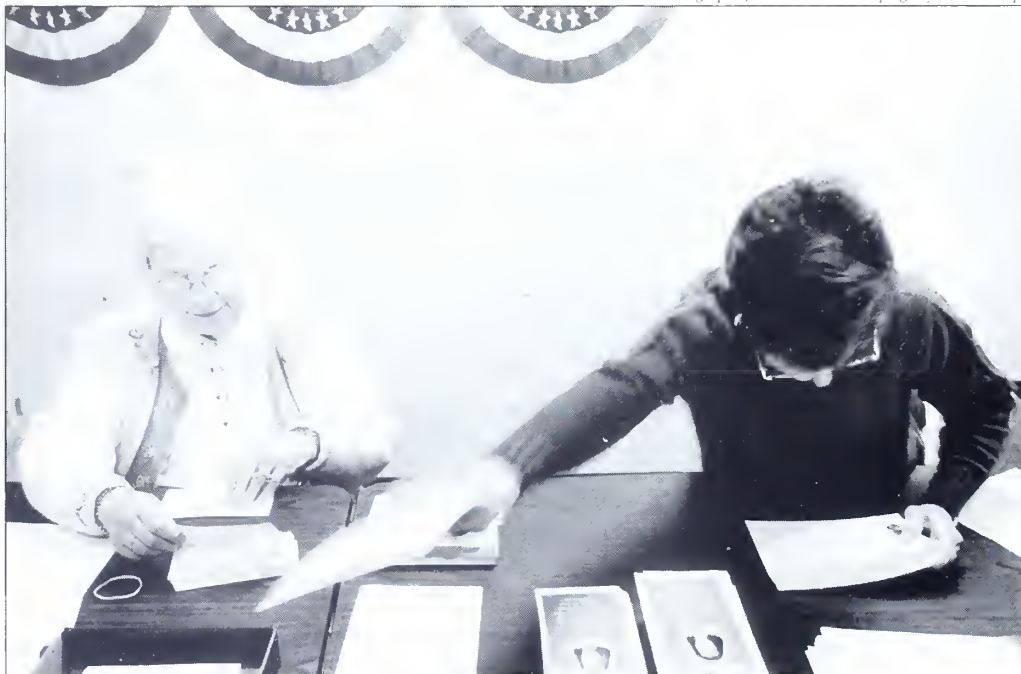
In November, Harmon will face James Caporusso, a Franklin Park Republican and aide to



Republican Rep. Angelo "Skip" Saviano of Elmwood Park.

One issue certain to play in this race: the deal struck between Gov. George Ryan and Chicago Mayor Richard Daley to expand O'Hare. Harmon says he supports the plan, including construction of a new south runway, which would displace several hundred residents in Bensenville. "O'Hare Airport is the economic engine that drives the region and I fully support responsible development and expansion," he says.

Photograph of Susan Garrett campaign by Jon Randolph



Caporusso did not return calls for comment.

Beyond these three priority districts, the Democrats have identified three competitive districts that would more likely swing to either party. In the north suburban 29th District, Rep. Susan Garrett is challenging incumbent Republican Sen. Kathleen Parker. The other so-called "target" districts are located downstate: the Champaign-based 52nd and the Mount Vernon-based 54th.

The suburban 29th extends north through parts of Glencoe, Highland Park and Lake Forest, then heads southwest to Des Plaines. Parker, who lives in Northbrook, is a strong campaigner, and Democrats have their work cut out for them.

Parker currently represents about a third of this new district and has no primary opponent. In the Senate, she has focused on health care, disabilities, transportation and small business issues. "This year alone, I got six 'legislator of the year' awards," she says. "I have a lot of broad-based issues that I work on."

In fact, on the campaign trail, Parker is regarded as one of the GOP's best contenders. In 1994, she beat former Democratic Sen. Grace Mary Stern following a hotly contested race.

This time around, the Democrats

do have a primary race.

Chris Cohen, a Glencoe Democrat with a law practice in Chicago, is vying to face Parker in November. He was a Chicago alderman in the 1970s, and has subsequently held an array of federal, state and county jobs.



Rep. Garrett, who lives in Lake Forest, has been endorsed by local Democratic officeholders. She hopes to "make the Senate much more open and democratic with a lower case 'd.'" She says more than half the bills that pass the House don't get past the Senate Rules Committee to substantive committees. And she blames that on Senate President James "Pate" Philip, the Wood Dale Republican who directs Senate activity. (To be fair, House members last year introduced 3,717 bills, more than twice the 1,540 introduced in the Senate, and passed 743 of those House bills to the Senate. The Senate did pass more bills — 432 — proportionate to those introduced.)

So would making the Senate "Democratic" make that chamber more "democratic"? She responds: "Whether or not it's Democratic with an upper case 'D,' I have the interest and persistence to follow through on important issues and I'll do everything I can to get those issues heard in the Senate."

Garrett is serving her second term in the House, where she pushed legislation to permit residents of unincorporated areas to use their library cards at all participating public libraries in their regional library system. Previously, nonresident cards could be used only at the library where the card was issued. That law took effect last month.

"The good news," Gross says, "is that Jeff Schoenberg, Maggie Crotty and Susan Garrett are strong, proven commodities, and they are going to be key campaigns for us as we look to take the majority back."

In central Illinois, the new 52nd District, which stretches from Champaign east to the Indiana border, also is considered highly competitive because it encompasses Democrat-leaning Urbana-Champaign, home of the University of Illinois, and Republican-leaning farm country to the east.

The Republicans have a primary contest in this district. Incumbent Sen. Judith Myers of Danville faces a challenge from Rep. Rick Winkel of Champaign.

Myers has served in the Senate since

## ***Legislative races to watch***

*Democrats will try this year to win control of the Senate, where Republicans have had the majority since 1993. To accomplish that, they will need to gain three seats. Republicans hold a 32-27 edge now. But the Democrats are tracking six districts, and, given the vulnerability of one incumbent, party strategists figure they'll need to win four of these six to be safe. Here are the districts the Democrats will focus on, starting with those deemed most competitive.*

**District 29.** Rep. Susan Garrett of Lake Forest and Chris Cohen, an attorney and Glencoe resident, are seeking the Democratic nomination in this north suburban district on March 19. The nominee will face Sen. Kathleen Parker, a Northbrook Republican, in November. The incumbent, Parker is a strong campaigner.

**District 54.** Sen. William O'Daniel, a Mount Vernon Democrat, and Rep. John Jones, a Mount Vernon Republican, will face off in November in this southern district. Democrats in this district are socially conservative, and Republicans can appeal to this constituency.

**District 52.** Sen. Judith Myers of Danville and Rep. Rick Winkel of Champaign are seeking the GOP nomination in this central Illinois district. Come November, the winner will face Dan McCollum, a Champaign Democrat and that city's former mayor. This district encompasses strong pockets of Democrats and Republicans.

**District 9.** Rep. Jeff Schoenberg, an Evanston Democrat, and Robin Thybony, a Wilmette Republican, will face one another in the November general election. The upscale North Shore area votes heavily Democratic, so that party counts it as secure.

**District 39.** Don Harmon, an Oak Park Democrat and lawyer with Mayer, Brown & Platt, faces James Caporusso in November in this west suburban district. Caporusso is a Franklin Park Republican and staffer for Rep. Angelo "Skip" Saviano, an Elmwood Park Republican.

**District 19.** Rep. Maggie Crotty, an Oak Forest Democrat, is running unopposed for the seat in this south suburban district. No Republican has filed, but that party has until May to slate candidates for spots where no party nominee emerges from the primary.

*The House is now controlled by the Democrats, 62-56, and they won four out of five election cycles under the previous Republican-drawn map. So this chamber is not expected to change hands. Still, there are some districts worth watching.*

**District 103.** Rep. Tom Berns, an Urbana Republican, is unopposed in next month's primary in this central Illinois district. Naomi Jakobsson and Laurel Lunt Prussing, both of Urbana, are seeking the Democratic nomination. Prussing served one term in the House. Republican Rep. Rick Winkel, who is making a run for the Senate, unseated her in 1994. He beat Jakobsson, who tried to unseat him, in 1996.

**District 17.** Rep. Elizabeth Coulson, a Glenview Republican, is unopposed in the primary in this north suburban district. Michael Ian Bender of Skokie and Pat Hughes of Wilmette are seeking the Democratic nomination.

**District 97.** Jim Watson, a Jacksonville Republican, has no opposition in March for the seat that was vacated by Republican Tom Ryder. John Glynn of Carrollton, Steve Pohlman of Jerseyville and Rick Stevens of Jacksonville are vying for the Democratic nomination.

**District 107.** Rep. Kurt Granberg, a Carlyle Democrat, and John Cavaletto, a Salem Republican, will face off in November in this southern district.

1997, where she sits on the Agriculture, Local Government and Executive Appointments committees. She was Vermilion County recorder from 1980 to 1997.

Winkel has served since 1995 in the House, where he sits on the Judiciary (criminal law), Higher Education and Elections committees. An attorney, he served as a Champaign County Board member from 1992 to 1994.

In November, the GOP nominee will face Dan McCollum, a Champaign Democrat and that city's former mayor.

And in southern Illinois, the 54th District swings through 13 counties. Democratic strategists consider this a race to watch. There are plenty of Democrats in this district, where labor unions are strong. But these Democrats, unlike those on the North Shore, are socially conservative. Republicans can appeal to this constituency.

Sen. William O'Daniel, a Mount Vernon Democrat, currently represents the bulk of that district, where he is regarded as extremely popular, and is running for re-election. In the Senate, where he has served since 1985, he sits on the Agriculture, Transportation and Forestry Development committees, all areas of interest to his region. O'Daniel also served two terms in the House in the 1970s.

But Rep. John Jones, a Mount Vernon Republican, will oppose him in November. In the House, where he has served since 1995, Jones sits on the Agriculture, Tourism and Transportation committees.

Both parties are keeping an eye on this district. "John Jones is an excellent candidate who is well-liked and respected," says Rep. Tom Cross, an Oswego Republican and newly appointed deputy House minority leader. "But he's running up against an equally tough candidate [in O'Daniel]



because of the incumbency issue."

Nevertheless, incumbency may not mean as much this year. Ordinarily, it confers the benefits of name recognition and a tested voter base. That's not necessarily the case in the election after a remap.

In southern Illinois, economic development-related issues prevail in campaigns. But the O'Daniel-Jones race could get more personal if O'Daniel's age — he's 78 — becomes an issue.

"From what I can see, a lot of incumbent senators who may have had safe districts are now going to have a lot of new territory to become known in and it will not be an easy walk for them by any stretch," says Sean Stott, legislative director at the Illinois American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations.

A few House races also could get heated. (Each Senate district encompasses two House districts.) In District 103, based in Champaign, Rep. Tom Berns, an Urbana Republican, is unopposed in the March primary. Two Democrats have filed to face off in the primary: Naomi Jakobsson and Laurel Lunt Prussing, who lost in 1994 to Winkel. Both reside in Urbana.

In District 17, the west half of the north suburban Senate district drawn

for Schoenberg, Rep. Elizabeth Coulson, a Glenview Republican, is unopposed in the primary. Michael Ian Bender of Skokie and Pat Hughes of Wilmette are seeking the Democratic nomination.

And in District 107, the west half of O'Daniel's new district in southern Illinois, Republicans hope John Caveletto, a Salem Republican, will give incumbent Rep. Kurt Granberg, a Carlyle Democrat and assistant majority leader, a run for his money. Granberg dismisses the challenge as weak.

In the House, the Democrats are looking to protect incumbents and pad their margin. Beyond that, they're pinning their hopes on winning the chamber on the other side of the Capitol rotunda — control, in short, of the General Assembly.

That's not a foregone conclusion. As Gross puts it: "I'm always optimistic, but I'm never going to count my eggs until they're hatched." Much could depend, for example, on whether the Democrats have a strong gubernatorial nominee.

As for Schoenberg, he's comfortable growing into the Senate district designed for him. He parks his Jeep to survey The Glen, a subdivision being built on the site of the closed Glenview Naval Air Station. Though construction is far from complete, there's already a train station, a strip mall, town houses and an assisted living center built by Hyatt.

"The Glen will have all the finest amenities of the North Shore," Schoenberg says. "And if a synagogue or temple were to be established here, it would probably serve as a magnet for more, younger Jewish families, which would in turn help my political fortunes down the road." □



# Squeeze play

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Southern Illinois was forced to give the most ground on the new congressional map. As a result, voters in that region will face a high-profile showdown between two incumbent U.S. representatives

by Kurt Erickson

Next month, voters in two Saline County townships will discover just how much the state's political landscape has changed. After decades of choosing among familiar home-grown pols, Democrat Glenn Poshard, say, or Democrat David Phelps, these southern Illinoisans are about to get to know Tim Johnson, a Republican from faraway Urbana who wants to represent them in the nation's capital.

Voters in the central Illinois city of Decatur will see new names on the ballot for U.S. House, too. As will voters in Chicago's Hispanic neighborhoods.

In fact, there are at least three key congressional primary contests this spring, two centered in Chicago and one in an oddly shaped district that stretches from Rock Island to Macon County. But there's no question southern Illinois faces the biggest political shuffle. And that's where the fall's most-contested general election race is shaping up.

These shifts are the result of the nation's once-a-decade exercise in congressional redistricting. Because Illinois didn't grow as fast as other states, it will lose one of its 20 districts next year. And because population growth within the state lagged in southern Illinois, that region was forced to give the most ground.

On March 19, all Illinoisans will confront for the first time the dramatically different congressional boundaries approved by the General Assembly last year. The new 15th District, for instance, covers a wide swath of central Illinois' rich farmland, from Livingston County south

through U.S. Rep. Tim Johnson's home base in Urbana. It then hugs the eastern border of the state, hooking south just enough to capture U.S. Rep. David Phelps' home in Eldorado at the northeast corner of Saline County.

Rather than face Johnson, Phelps opted to take on another incumbent, Republican Rep. John Shimkus of Collinsville, in the new 19th District, which encompasses a sizable chunk of southern Illinois and some of the Metro East area.

For many in the southern reaches of the state, this battle will be the focus of the state's congressional elections come November. That's likely the case for those beyond Illinois, too, because the outcome of the race in the 19th could affect Republican Speaker Dennis Hastert's ability to hang on to his slim six-seat majority in the U.S. House. And the contest could get extra attention simply because Hastert, from Yorkville, is an Illinoisan himself.

At the least, partisan control of the state's delegation is at stake. With only 19 seats, Democrats and Republicans will no longer be evenly matched, as they have been for the past seven years.

Both parties are primed for a hard-fought — read big spending — showdown. “The jury is still out on how [this race] will rank nationally, but we expect to spend more than we have in the past,” Shimkus says.

For now, there's a primary to get through. Yet, while Phelps faces a challenge from little-known and underfunded Democrat Vic Roberts, a retired coal miner from Taylorville, he's already looking ahead to the Shimkus race.

Known throughout the vast rural stretches of his southern Illinois congressional district as a gospel performer, Phelps was singing a different tune last May. As negotiators struck a rare bipartisan deal on new district boundary lines, the socially conservative Democrat from a mining enclave at the edge of Saline County discovered the blues: He'd been chosen as the sacrificial lamb in the plan to cut the size of the delegation.

“The goal was to create districts that no one would have to lose,” says GOP remap point man Mike Stokke, a top aide to Hastert.

Early on, the chances for that looked good. With Democrat Rod Blagojevich forgoing a re-election run to pursue the governor's mansion, negotiators initially thought his 5th District could be folded into other Chicago-area districts. But slow growth in southern Illinois put the spotlight on Phelps. To accommodate Republicans and Democrats, negotiators drew a map that would pit the second-term congressman against freshman Tim Johnson in a district that stretches more than 200 miles from Streator to Eldorado.

The move drew sharp reaction from political leaders in the south, primarily because the population base of each of the new districts that touches the region is not in southern Illinois.

The new 19th, drawn to favor Shimkus' re-election, leans Republican and encompasses an estimated two-thirds of the territory Shimkus represents. It touches the Kentucky border on the southeast and runs northward into the neighborhoods

of Springfield's south side. Rural areas around Effingham, Mount Vernon and Jerseyville were combined with such urban centers as Collinsville and the capital city.

Shimkus, who was elected to Congress in 1996, is a former Madison County treasurer. He sports a solidly pro-business Republican record in Congress. "I'm a conservative Republican. I'll keep spreading that message to the new parts of the district," he says.

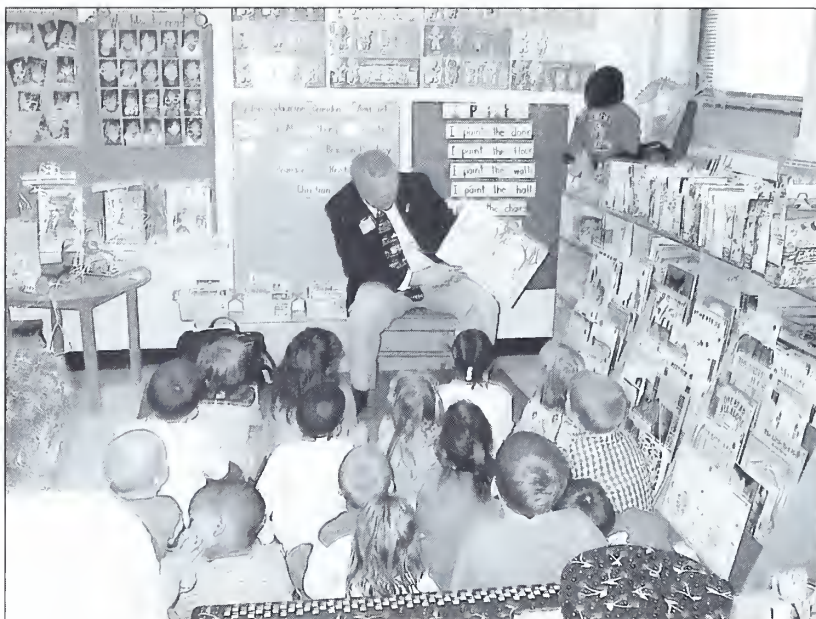
In the 106th Congress, he and Phelps parted ways on a proposed Patients' Bill of Rights, with Phelps voting "yes" and Shimkus voting "no." But while the two former teachers also differed on a trade agreement with China, they agreed on such social issues as banning so-called "partial-birth" abortion and requiring gun show background checks.

Shimkus acknowledges Phelps may have a leg up when it comes to support from organized labor, but he says he anticipates gaining some union backing simply because he will have access to Hastert — assuming Republicans remain in control of the House after the November election.

"I'll never have a 100 percent rating from the AFL-CIO," Shimkus says. "But I will get some labor support."

In the 2000 presidential election, only 41 percent of voters in that new district supported Gore. Still, Phelps is counting on two things to swing votes his way. For one, his conservative ideology jibes better with voters in the region than that of the environmentally minded former vice president, who may not have engendered support in the economically ravaged coal mining industry that dominates the southern part of the state.

Phelps also is counting on getting support from southern Illinoisans angered that new district lines mean their representatives could live as far



*U.S. Rep. John Shimkus reads his favorite book, *House Mouse, Senate Mouse*, to students at Dubois Elementary School in Springfield.*

away as Urbana or Collinsville.

Johnson, for instance, talked of his desire to serve central Illinoisans when he was vying for the open 15th District seat in 2000. Now the attorney and former state representative will have to alter his campaign pitch to include the words "southern Illinois."

Johnson, who prides himself on constituent services, took six months to open a district office in Bloomington — just 45 minutes from his Urbana office. If he wins, he'll be faced with trying to find a way to connect with voters at least two hours away in Eldorado.

With Phelps facing off against Shimkus, however, Johnson is enjoying a rare free pass as a freshman lawmaker and has no known opponents as he heads toward a second two-year term.

The race in the 19th isn't the only one to watch as Illinois' long election season begins to heat up. There's a marquee primary match-up in Chicago's staunchly Democratic 5th District, where an open-seat battle is brewing between two well-funded and well-known Democratic candidates.

Incumbent Rep. Blagojevich opted for the governor's race. And former President Bill Clinton's aide, Rahm Emanuel, is expected to tap Mayor Richard Daley's political power base in an effort to win that seat. But Emanuel faces a stiff contest with former state

Rep. Nancy Kaszak, who lost a primary bid to Blagojevich when the two ran for the congressional seat in 1996. Among the six other Democrats who filed is Peter Dagher, also a former, though less-visible aide to Clinton.

The winner of the Democratic primary in the 5th — home turf of legendary former House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski — is regarded as a shoo-in for victory in November. Emanuel, who was a senior adviser to Clinton, and Kaszak have already tapped powerful pipelines

of campaign cash.

Emanuel, who quit the White House in 1998 to return to Chicago as an investment banker, was finance director for Daley's 1989 mayoral campaign. He also was former U.S. Sen. Paul Simon's deputy finance director when the Illinois Democrat made his first bid for the Senate in 1984.

Emanuel's political and fundraising connections may be top-notch, but Kaszak argues she is more connected to the district's large Polish community through local activism and her role as a state lawmaker from 1993 to 1996. "I've lived in the district for 25 years. I have roots in this community," she says, emphasizing that she thinks Emanuel merely "parachuted" into the district to take over Blagojevich's seat in Washington, D.C.

This district, which extends from the lakefront to O'Hare airport, encompasses the Lakeview neighborhood, which Kaszak represented in the Illinois House. She has backing from EMILY's List, an organization dedicated to helping fund pro-choice women candidates.

But while Kaszak may be best remembered for her neighborhood activism in trying to limit night baseball games at Wrigley Field, Emanuel helped shepherd the North American Free Trade Agreement



through Congress. The issues in the district mirror those in other districts across the nation: prescription drug costs, health care costs and job security.

"The open seat in the 5th has all the makings of being a real donnybrook," says Steve Brown, spokesman for House Speaker Michael Madigan, who also is chairman of the Illinois Democratic Party.

In the nearby 4th District, U.S. Rep. Luis Gutierrez faces a potentially serious Democratic primary challenge from lawyer and fundraiser Martin Castro, who, as part of the incumbent protection plan put into play by the makers of the new map, was drawn out of the district by just a few hundred feet.

This new district is similar to its 1990 Hispanic-majority predecessor, a thin, horseshoe shaped design created in response to the Voting Rights Act of 1982. Nearly three-quarters of its residents are Hispanic, according to 2000 U.S. Census figures. Like the 5th, this district leans heavily Democratic, with 78 percent of its voters casting ballots for Al Gore in the 2000 presidential election.

Brown says Castro, a former member of the Chicago Library Board, may present a tough race for Gutierrez. But, he contends, the immigration rights activist will likely come out on top. "I think Gutierrez is a pretty well established political figure, and I suspect he will be very hard to beat."

Gutierrez, who is of Puerto Rican descent, is a former cab driver, social worker and Chicago alderman. After winning tougher elections in 1992 and 1994, he has cruised to victory in each of his last three bids.

But, pointing to the incumbent's activism on issues affecting Puerto Rico, Castro questions Gutierrez's agenda. Though he doesn't disagree with the importance of immigration



*David Phelps (left), Bill Raben and Hugh David at a Friend of Ag Award event*

issues or problems Puerto Ricans might have with U.S. government policies. Castro says that's not the only thing a congressman should be known for at a time when there are issues to be dealt with back home.

"[Gutierrez's agenda] doesn't mesh with the needs of people in his district," says Castro, who touts his efforts to improve educational offerings in the inner city as an example of what he'll do if elected.

John Joseph Holowinski, who has run against Gutierrez before, also filed as a Democrat.

At the western edge of the state, meanwhile, voters face change of another sort. Republicans have apparently given up trying to unseat 10-term U.S. Rep. Lane Evans of Rock Island. His 17th District was redrawn to lean more decidedly Democratic. In the 2000 election, for example, more than 53.5 percent of the vote in the region covered by the new district went to Gore.

Evans, described by most as "solidly liberal," fended off former Republican TV anchor Mark Baker for three consecutive, high-profile elections. In the memorable 1998 race, Evans announced he had Parkinson's disease, yet still overcame Baker and an influx of dollars from national GOP sources.

Nonetheless, Republican voters in the expansive 17th, which stretches

southeast in an elongated arc to Decatur, will see political newcomers Pete Calderone, a fishing tackle salesman from Galesburg, and Tony Rees, an accountant from Aledo, on the ballot, with the winner facing Evans in November. Rees, who has never held elective office, says the economy likely will be the big issue in the race. Blue-collar workers in that district have been rocked by plant closings in the Quad Cities and Decatur.

"Thirty-dollar-an-hour jobs with great benefits

are being replaced by eight- and 10-an-hour jobs with few benefits," says Rees. "We need economic leadership in Congress. We need to restore some of our economic base."

But with Evans and other incumbents across Illinois running in districts designed to favor their re-election chances, the eyes of the state — and possibly the nation — will turn next fall to the match-up between Shimkus and Phelps.

In the 1970s, the Phelps Brothers were on tour as a gospel group, traveling to churches and events throughout what will be the new 19th District. When the political bug bit David Phelps, the troupe began setting up in parking lots of local Wal-Mart stores, where they would sing from the back of a pickup truck and tell anyone who wandered by that they should vote for the young man leading the songs.

"We'd cover 10 counties in a day," says Phelps.

Though he doesn't anticipate revving up the truck in 2002, Phelps won't guarantee he'll put a lid on his singing voice as he attempts to keep hold of a seat in Congress. "You've got to use your talents to try and get your name and message out." □

*Kurt Erickson is the Statehouse bureau chief for The Pantagraph of Bloomington.*

# Emergency landing

Terrorism critically damaged an already crippled airline industry. This crucial sector of Illinois' economy will lift off again, but flight conditions won't be the same

Analysis by Stephanie Zimmermann

When American Airlines Flight 587 crashed in Queens, N.Y., the reaction from many Americans spoke volumes about the health of the U.S. airline industry. As the grim news filtered into homes and offices, there were sighs of relief the tragedy that claimed 265 lives was "just an accident" — and not the work of terrorists.

It's amazing, really, that in just two short months the airline industry, and

people's perceptions of it, had fallen to such a point that a fatal crash caused by apparent mechanical or pilot error could be considered a good thing. True, there was much wrong with the air travel business before the September 11 terrorist attacks. But that event heaped unprecedented additional misery on an economic sector that already was operating on razor-thin margins: a two-and-one-half-day shutdown of the

nation's airspace that contributed to the airlines' billions in financial losses in 2001, a new sense of panic about air travel among thousands of casual flyers and a global economic tailspin that forced many companies to cut travel budgets.

This is bad news for the Chicago metropolitan area, which gets an annual economic boost from air travel worth an estimated \$35 billion — and even worse

*A photolith illustration*





news for much of the rest of Illinois, where regional airports have long struggled to stay afloat.

Unlike a doomed plane, the airlines will rise again — eventually — perhaps by late this year, some experts predict. But the fundamental changes, including heightened security, reduced availability of flights and loss of service to smaller cities, that have sprung from these troubled times will stay with air travelers for much longer.

“There’s hardly a bright spot in the sky,” laments Sam Peltzman, professor of economics at the University of Chicago’s graduate school of business. “[That sector] will bounce back, but it will be down. It’s going to stay down for awhile.”

*If the industry* was temporarily knocked out on September 11, in the months before it had been looking like a rubber-legged boxer stumbling in the ring. Chicago’s O’Hare International Airport, where United and American airlines operate hubs and before September 11 directed a combined 790 departures a day, already was feeling the pinch.

Many factors had conspired to make life difficult for commercial airlines, including higher fuel costs, which leaped to more than \$1 per gallon in November 2000, nearly twice the long-term average price of 60 cents to 65 cents per gallon; widespread customer dissatisfaction; and signs the American economy was slowing.

But a major headache for many of

the airlines, especially United Airlines, was labor strife. At Elk Grove Village-based United, this problem came to a head in the summer of 2000 when pilots, upset about a proposed merger with US Airways Group Inc., initiated a “slowdown” that caused maddening delays at O’Hare and other airports throughout the country. Their supporters believed a contract with big wage increases was long overdue. The pilots had taken a large pay cut and gone almost six years without a raise — in exchange for a controlling amount of United stock, which proved to be a bad bargain.

United ultimately settled with the pilots, giving them wage increases of 24 percent to 28 percent on top of restoring the pay cut. But the airline set itself up for similar demands from its other unions — and raised the bar for competitors. “It made them a pariah in the industry,” says Aaron Gellman, a professor at Northwestern University’s Transportation Center.

Meanwhile, United and its pilots both managed to get the short end of the stick. The pilots, and the machinists, took a hit because their stock in the employee-controlled company nosedived in value. Capt. Herb Hunter, a spokesman for the Chicago office of the Air Line Pilots Association, estimated in November that his stock had dropped from \$391,000 to \$50,000 in just 15 months. “I’ve always called it Monopoly money,” he says.

And the company’s proposed merger

with US Airways failed. Despite negative signals early on from federal antitrust regulators, negotiations had limped along until last summer, when United was forced to pay US Airways \$50 million to back out of the deal.

Now, \$50 million looks like chump change. Fueled by the terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., the airlines lost an estimated \$10 billion last year.

Those losses have had a ripple effect. An estimated 100,000 airline workers have been laid off. And countless others in businesses that depend on air travel are joining them in the unemployment lines, including up to 30,000 employees of Chicago-based Boeing Co., though most of those workers live in Seattle.

And American taxpayers will be on the hook for \$15 billion in federal money aimed at bailing out the industry with cash and loan guarantees.

After the nationwide grounding of planes, commercial airlines resumed flying, but with steep cuts in service: Several are operating only about 80 percent of their pre-September 11 flights, and the bargain-basement fares offered to bring travelers back haven’t helped the airlines’ bottom lines.

Those travelers who aren’t too scared to board a plane are required to get to the airport two hours early to stand in snaking security lines. That wouldn’t be so bad if people felt safer. But every new breach of security, like the Richard Reid shoe-bombing attempt in December, chips away at



any confidence that's been rebuilt.

"The other shoes haven't dropped yet," says Michael Boyd, president of The Boyd Group/Aviation Systems Research Corp. and a Colorado-based consultant, speaking of the patchwork security "solutions" that have gone into effect. "People know it's not better security, so they're going to travel less."

Businesses aren't afraid to fly — they're just too poor. Many companies are slashing travel budgets for economic reasons and opting instead for teleconferences and e-mail. With a last-minute fare from Chicago to Los Angeles running at more than \$1,200, it's not surprising business travel is dropping.

"It was really a dire situation by September 11," says Joseph Schwieterman, director of the Chaddick Institute for Metropolitan Development at DePaul University and a former pricing and marketing specialist at United. "In a way, September 11 just hastened what was going to happen anyway."

Yet, even with the economic rumblings, it would have been unthinkable before September 11 to say "United Airlines" and "bankruptcy" in the same breath. And though it's not likely, the possibility that United, once the world's largest airline, could file for Chapter 11 has been raised in media reports several times in recent months.

What's bad for United and American airlines is bad for O'Hare and for Chicago's Midway Airport. It's bad, too, for Meigs Field, the city's tiny lakefront airport. But it's worse

for Illinois' other 120 airports, nine of them "primary" airports with commercial air service, many of which were struggling even in good economic times.

MidAmerica Airport near the Metro East city of Belleville, for example, lost its only passenger airline, Pan Am, after the September 11 attacks — the latest in a string of bad luck for the new facility.

Southern Illinois already is what Boyd calls "air service blighted" and, with the big airlines all paring down, that's not likely to improve. "It's going to get worse before it gets better, and it may never get better" in that part of the state, Boyd says. "They have virtually no air service. They have to drive to St. Louis. What does that do when they're trying to attract a factory?"

Also stung have been the players in the state's general aviation sector, including manufacturers of private and corporate planes, air taxis and flight schools.

Just how important a healthy air travel system is to Illinois can't be overstated. The \$35 billion a year that Chicago's O'Hare and Midway pump into the region includes direct employment in airport activities, transport, tourism and the like, along with the trickle-down on other businesses and the commerce that's attracted by the airport system. That's according to a 1998 study by the Booz-Allen & Hamilton management consulting firm that was commissioned by the Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce.

Backers of the proposed \$6 billion expansion of O'Hare call the world's busiest airport the engine that drives the entire state's economy. And the numbers can be eye-opening, even for Chicagoans accustomed to seeing jets in the skies at all hours of the day. O'Hare is responsible for an estimated 365,000 to 455,000 direct and indirect jobs, with the northwest suburban area around it rivaling downtown Chicago as a prime business location. An estimated 130,000 of those jobs are directly tied to the airport, including ticket agents or car rental clerks.

Imagine O'Hare in the bull's eye of a series of concentric circles and the impact is clear. Besides the businesses

that directly serve the airport, there are companies that depend upon on-time deliveries, such as seafood shippers or overnight mail deliverers. Then there are the hotels, convention halls and other facets of tourism. Keep going and eventually there's the professor at the University of Illinois wanting to fly a colleague in from Beijing, or the downstate farmer seeking markets for soybeans or the Rockford manufacturer needing parts from Asia.

"Your connection to the world is O'Hare," says Paul O'Connor, executive director of World Business Chicago, a not-for-profit economic development corporation chaired by Chicago Mayor Richard Daley.

Illinois' other airports generated more than \$2 billion in 1998 through direct activities and trickle-down impacts, including about 23,000 jobs, according to an analysis in a 2000 report by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's Regional Economic Applications Laboratory for the Illinois Department of Transportation. That includes everything from the fees paid by cargo plane companies to the dollars spent on hotels to the cash that is recycled by hotel employees at local stores.

Despite the recent economic problems, up until September 11 the marketplace was building a thriving post-deregulation air transportation system. Before the airline industry was deregulated in 1978, the government decided which communities would get service. This was good for the underserved small towns of the nation, not so good for consumers who paid exorbitant ticket prices. With deregulation, the airlines built upon a more efficient "hub-and-spoke" system, in which such key cities as Chicago became changing points for trips between far-flung places and ticket prices got much lower.

In recent years, a parallel system of smaller airlines with more focused short-haul service has sprung up — with widely varying degrees of success. Southwest Airlines and JetBlue are two that have made money targeting specific routes with lower prices than the older, bigger airlines — and



they've weathered September 11 relatively well.

"The industry still really hasn't shaken out to where it's going," says the U of C's Peltzman. "At the end of the day, there's going to be opportunity."

So what can we expect this year — and beyond? Barring another terrorist attack, things will get better. It will take awhile — anywhere from nine months to two years, depending on which economist is speaking — but people will fly again and the airlines will rebuild their schedules.

**That sector's economy** could be touch and go for awhile, though. After the Richard Reid incident in December, the stock of every major airline plunged, proving again the negative power of security fears combined with industry revenues already 20 percent below where they should have been.

And tension between labor and management at some of the airlines could last for a while. There is still deep resentment among many employees at United, where former CEO James Goodwin resigned in October after issuing a much-criticized warning that the airline would "perish" because it was "hemorrhaging money," a statement that pushed the company's stock into a freefall. The pilots are angry because they've been made to look like the bad guys. As of mid-January, the machinists were in a federally ordered cooling-off period in their two-year-old contract dispute. Many employees are still bitter about the previous management's forays into the failed US Airways merger and into a separate venture to provide private business jet service. All of United's unions are bracing for management to ask for

wage or work rules concessions.

As for airline consumers, they'll continue to deal with what President George W. Bush called our "new culture of being vigilant." Increased security and decreased convenience are part of a "normal" air trip now. Business travelers, who were once able to choose their flights almost to a specific moment of the day, won't have that convenience because of pared-down flight schedules. And travelers at some of the regional airports will be in worse trouble if the airlines believe it isn't worth their while to pick up 15 people.

Beyond the next five or even 10 years, things look considerably rosier. Those who aim to chart Illinois' course over the next decade or more say it's important to look beyond September 11 and this slump in the airline industry. In the big picture, air travel will continue to grow — it must — especially in a state like Illinois that is so adept at providing services to the rest of the world. Architectural firms, engineering companies, management consultants, software developers, advertising and public relations firms — these are abundant in Illinois, and all depend greatly on air travel. And, because Chicago and Illinois are in the middle time zone for North America, it's the most logical place for international companies from Asia and Europe to base their U.S. operations. This, too, requires an efficient air transportation system.

Backers of the proposed expansion of O'Hare have made these arguments their mantra. Despite opposition from nearby residents who complain about noise, pollution and congestion, those who want O'Hare to grow bigger — and nearly double its capacity to 1.6

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***So what can we expect this year — and beyond? Barring another terrorist attack, things will get better. It will take nine months to two years, depending on which economist is speaking — but people will fly again and the airlines will rebuild their schedules.***

million annual flights — say that's essential to the economic future of the state. Not expanding O'Hare could cost the region \$8 billion to \$10 billion a year by 2015 because air traffic eventually would be lost to other cities and Chicago would become a less hospitable place to do business, estimated the 1998 Booz-Allen & Hamilton study. Expanding O'Hare, the same study predicted, would generate up to \$26 billion a year in new wealth.

If anything positive can be found in the chaos that followed the terrorist attacks, it's that businesses really need a healthy airline industry. "It's literally the exception that proves the rule," says O'Connor of World Business Chicago. "It shows how dependent the economy of the United States and the world is upon air travel."

That dependency will eventually make the airlines rise again. And that's good to remember in the short term, as the industry continues to weather the effects of September 11. □

*Stephanie Zimmermann is a reporter at the Chicago Sun-Times.*

## IN MEMORY OF MIKE HUDSON

Michael H. Hudson was vice president of public affairs at Illinois Tool Works Inc. and chairman of the *Illinois Issues* board at the time of his death in 1992.

In his memory, fellow board members established an annual essay to examine a significant economic trend in Illinois and its relationship to public policy. This feature was funded by a donor who asked to remain anonymous.

*The Editors*

# LUCKY

## NUMBERS?

*Business has picked up at the Illinois Lottery.  
Can it last? Nothing is a sure bet in the competitive gaming industry*

by Tim Landis

The Illinois Lottery was on a roll last fall even as the state's economy started to come up empty.

Ticket sales through the first six months of the fiscal year that began July 1 totaled \$741.3 million, or approximately \$42.5 million more than the same period in the prior fiscal year. That puts the lottery on track to reverse a five-year trend of declining sales.

Riverboat gambling was up too, by nearly 9 percent, despite the slowing state economy — or perhaps because of it in the view of one gaming industry executive.

"It's in times like these that it's fun to go to a movie, it's fun to go out to eat and it's fun to go to the casino," says Susan Gouinlock, executive director of the Illinois Casino Gaming Association.

Still, a million dollars isn't what it used to be, especially in the lottery business. Neither is \$50 million, or perhaps even \$100 million. The industry terms it "jackpot fatigue," the ever-larger, mega-payoffs needed to create marketplace buzz, generate

extra ticket sales and bring in new players. "I believe it's more than \$100 million now, and I'm not sure it isn't even closer to \$200 million," says Lori Montana, director of the Illinois Department of Lottery.

Government-operated lotteries are big business in 38 states and the District of Columbia, generating annual sales of more than \$38 billion. Illinois' lottery had approximately \$1.4 billion in sales for the fiscal year that ended June 30. Total sales since the inception of this state's lottery have reached \$28.2 billion.

This state was among the first to jump into the game. The Illinois Lottery was one of only four state lotteries in the nation when it was launched in 1974. The first was in New Hampshire in 1964, followed by New York in 1967 and New Jersey in 1970. Canada legalized lottery sales in 1973.

But as state after state has turned to the lure of gambling profits as a source of revenue, older games have come under increased competitive pressure from riverboats, land-based casinos and even offshore Internet-

based gambling. "As a mature lottery, you find it harder to keep the players' interest," says Montana, who became the seventh director of the Illinois Lottery when former Gov. Jim Edgar named her to the post in 1997.

The numbers tell this story. According to the North American Association of State and Provincial Lotteries, lottery sales were down in 15 of the 38 states in 2000 and profits were down in 20 states. Illinois Lottery sales peaked at just over \$1.6 billion in fiscal year 1996.

But Montana says competition from other forms of gambling is only one factor — and perhaps not the most important — facing lotteries. She also counts as competition the mass entertainment industry, including movies, the Internet, video games and heavily hyped television shows such as "Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?"

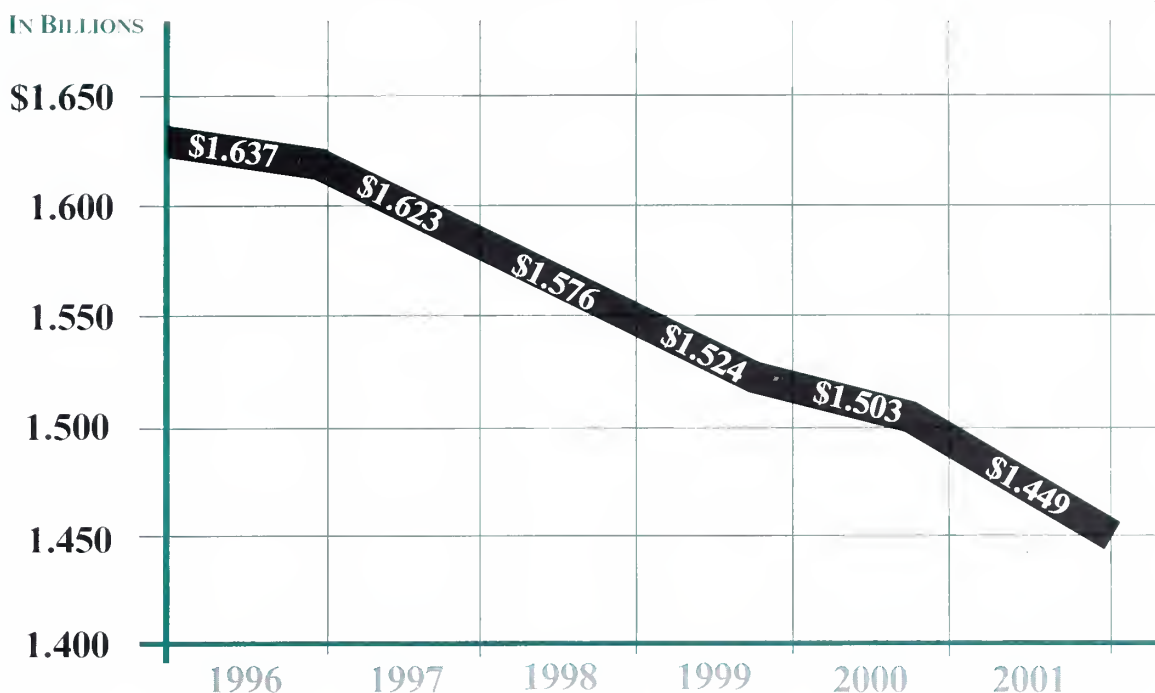
"There are a lot of other things now that take away our face time. You have to stop as a business and take a look at what you have," she says.

Like any savvy retailer looking for new customers, the lottery has turned



## Lottery ticket sales by fiscal year

Source: Illinois Lottery



to market research in an effort to boost sales, including regular focus groups to see what will sell with lottery players. Montana believes the repackaging has begun to pay off, noting the lottery spends \$17 million a year on marketing. A new advertising campaign, "Players Have More Fun," was introduced in 2000. She says a consistent theme has run throughout the marketing research: People no longer buy lottery tickets simply for the lure of instant riches. "We want to say to people, 'This isn't someone else's lottery; this can be your lottery. Have fun with it.'"

Nationwide, lotteries have begun to reconsider marketing strategies in competition with other forms of gambling and entertainment, says David Gale, executive director of the North American Association of State and Provincial Lotteries. "It used to be you had to get on a plane and fly to Atlantic City or Las Vegas to gamble. Now everybody in the country is within a three-hour drive of some type of gaming." Gale says no single strategy works. "You really can't compare one

state to another. It depends on the type of lottery and how old the lottery is."

One answer to jackpot fatigue has been multistate lotteries that enable states to pool ticket sales and prizes. Illinois, Georgia, Virginia, Maryland, Michigan and Massachusetts formed The Big Game Lotto in 1996. New Jersey was added in 1999. The largest Big Game jackpot reached a record \$363 million on May 9, 2000. Winners in Michigan and Illinois split the prize.

But Gale, too, says cash, even in huge amounts, is only one factor in consumer gambling choices. "Even though lotteries are often run by state government, they are very much like any other business," he says. "They have a product to sell, and they must continually be looking at that product mix."

There was no shortage of interest in August 1974, when the first round of Illinois Lottery drawings was held at the Illinois State Fair. Approximately 7.5 million tickets were sold in the first week. An additional 2 million

tickets had to be printed, the demand was so great. A variety of state dignitaries, including then-Gov. Dan Walker, joined the festivities. Former U.S. Sen. Alan Dixon, at the time serving as Illinois treasurer, was among those in attendance. "I participated in that first ceremony, and I remember there was just quite a bit of excitement at the time," says Dixon, though he too notes expectations have changed since the first drawings in 1974. "People only get excited about the big prizes, even though the bigger the prize the longer the odds."

Springfield-area retiree Hale Harmon recalls that he purchased his first lottery ticket during the fair pretty much on a whim. It paid off with a \$100 prize. "I remember we called it our \$100 walk across the state fairground," Harmon has continued to play the lottery from time to time. "I haven't played it all that much since, but I'll always remember that first drawing."

Legalized gambling began in Illinois well before the lottery. Wagering on horse races took off

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***Marketing research finds players are willing to pay higher prices for better odds. A \$10 Merry Millionaire ticket, for instance, offers players a 1-in-1-million chance of winning \$1 million. But they also have chances to win prizes of \$10 to \$50 from the same ticket.***

in 1927, followed by bingo in 1971, the lottery in 1974, charitable games in 1986, off-track betting parlors in 1987, and pull-tab and jar games in 1988. By fiscal year 1999, the \$25.3 billion wagered in Illinois exceeded the \$19.9 billion in the state's general fund. But the highest roller entered the market in 1990, the year Illinois legalized riverboat gambling. Within three years, the \$3.5 billion wagered on floating casinos far exceeded the \$1.3 billion in lottery sales. More significant, in 1999 the riverboats were no longer required to cruise, effectively turning the state's nine boats into land-based casinos.

Ann Sundeen, assistant comptroller for fiscal policy with the Illinois comptroller's office, says each new form of gambling does tend to come at the expense of existing games. But, she says, the playing field eventually levels. "If you look at gaming sources, typically when they mature, they level off and stay there."

A network of 8,000 retailers, from package liquor stores to supermarkets, remains the primary means of selling lottery tickets, though tickets also are sold through some racetrack and riverboat vending machines. But moving to stay competitive, the Illinois lottery has introduced dozens of new games in the past two years. Instant scratch-off tickets and second-chance drawings have been among the most popular. Montana says the lottery also is attempting to sell an "experience" that isn't just about cash.

Marketing research finds players are willing to pay higher prices for better odds. A \$10 Merry Millionaire ticket, for instance, offers players a 1-in-1-million chance of winning \$1 million. But they also have chances to win prizes of \$10 to \$50 from the same ticket. "One of the things that we found is that people want to play longer before they know they're out of the game," Montana says.

To extend the possibilities, a "Play Extra" twist was added to the traditional Pick 3 and Pick 4 games last fall. By adding a dollar to their Pick 3 or Pick 4 purchases, players can check an "extra" box on the lottery

ticket that gives them a chance to win \$500 instantly.

The lottery also has begun cross-marketing prize packages with the Illinois Bureau of Tourism to include travel. The payoff includes cash, a sport utility vehicle and mini-vacations to Illinois destinations. An "Ultimate Bleacher Bum" promotion launched last summer allowed buyers of a \$5 Big Lotto ticket to enter a second-chance drawing for \$100,000 and a sky-box party for six at a Cubs-Cardinals game at Wrigley Field. Lottery players were even invited to a hog-calling contest at a Chicago Harley-Davidson store in Chicago last summer. A \$5 Harley-Davidson ticket carried a top cash prize of \$100,000 and a chance to win a new Harley. Illinois celebrities such as football great Mike Ditka and former Chicago Cubs baseball player Mark Grace have been featured in advertising campaigns. And a number of specialty tickets have been tied to seasonal promotions such as Christmas, the Fourth of July and Valentine's Day.

Montana says she has been encouraged by response to the new gaming mix, especially as lottery sales appear to be on a rebound from a five-year decline. But, despite the current roll, she says focus groups, product testing and mass-market research have become a permanent part of the lottery business in the highly competitive gambling industry. The Internet, for instance, appears to be the next threshold for legalized gambling, though it is not yet allowed in the United States. And there's a continued push in Illinois for legalization of video gaming in taverns. "Everything has gotten much more sophisticated. It can't be the same old lottery it was even 10 years ago."

For Montana, even self-serve gasoline pumps have become competition. "Now people are paying at the pump, which means they aren't going in the convenience store where we make our sales." □

*Tim Landis is the business editor of the State Journal-Register in Springfield.*





# WHAT'S THE BIG SECRET?

*Illinois requires its lawmakers to reveal less about their economic interests than most states*

by Bill Knight

Alabamans could check their House leader's real estate holdings. Arizonans could read up on the estimated value of any investments held by their state Senate Republican whip. Hawaiians could find out whether their House majority floor leader has outside clients. Washingtonians could track corporate officer positions held by the Senate Republican caucus chair's spouse. And Alaskans could calculate their Senate minority leader's family members' incomes and investments.

Such information can help those citizens determine whether their lawmakers benefit financially from legislative decisions. But that's not the case here. Illinoisans don't have ready access to that kind of detail about their legislators' finances.

Illinois' economic interest form is not useless, most agree. The two-page statement requires lawmakers to declare income from a professional practice or other private sources (if it comes to more than \$1,200 each), services provided or capital assets from real estate (if each is worth more than \$5,000), ownership ties to entities doing business in Illinois (if any total more than \$5,000 in fair market value), any paid lobbyists with whom they're closely associated, and sources of any gifts or honoraria (if they're valued at more than \$500).

Access is another matter. The information on this little-known Statement

of Economic Interests, which Illinois' 177 legislators file each year with the secretary of state's index department, is available to anyone willing to pay 50 cents a page, fill out a request slip listing their own name, occupation, address, phone number, and reason for examining the form, and wait a day or two. But chances are the effort won't add up to much. Most Illinois lawmakers routinely answer "None" to most, if not all, of the eight questions.

It's no surprise, then, that Illinois came in No. 42 on the nonpartisan Center for Public Integrity's rankings of all 50 state legislatures' economic disclosure requirements for the year 2000, the most recent data the group has compiled. The ratings were based on a weighted assessment of the forms' availability, content and access for viewing. They're available online at <http://www.50statesonline.org/legislative/50states/findings.asp?Display=5>. The group plans to make Illinois' 2001 forms available on its Web site this month, and provide a 50-state update in the fall.

"Illinois' form has some information, but it's inferior to many other states," says Public Integrity's Meleah Rush. "Illinois lawmakers do not have to disclose any client information, for instance, or a value range for earnings or real property or investments, or much about spouses or dependents — or spouses' or dependents' employment or investments."

The most open states, according to the group's assessment, are Washington, Alabama, Alaska, Hawaii and Arizona, says Rush, director of Public Integrity's state projects, which is funded in part by the Joyce Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The least open states are Vermont, Michigan and Idaho, which don't require disclosure of outside income sources at all.

Toward the bottom of the rankings, Illinois is one of 18 states that don't require a complete listing of property holdings, one of 41 states that don't require an estimate of the value of investments and one of 28 states that don't require complete disclosure on income and investments of all household members.

"The specific values of investments or income are not required," concedes Nathan Maddox, assistant general counsel with the secretary of state's office. "The only specific values set forth in the public act are the threshold amounts for reporting within given categories."

More troubling to some is the requirement that citizens reviewing the records must themselves fill out request forms. Illinois is one of three states with such a requirement. "This is a barrier to access," Rush says. "The top states didn't charge high copy fees or create hoops for interested citizens to jump through."

And there are concerns about

## *Can more be less?*

The Statement of Economic Interests form filed yearly by Illinois lawmakers requires responses to eight questions. Most legislators answer "None" when asked to list businesses they own, outside employers or gifts above a certain amount, including at least \$5,000 in earnings from real estate or other capital assets. But some lawmakers can be more expansive.

For instance, House Speaker Michael Madigan's 2000 economic interest form has a five-page addendum listing ownership and income ties to businesses ranging from his LaSalle Street law practice and Zebra Technologies Corp. in Vernon Hills, to Schaumburg-based Motorola and Houston, Texas-based Diamond Offshore Drilling Inc. The Chicago Democrat lists no dollar amounts. None are required. Madigan also reveals he received income of more than \$5,000 from seven investment funds, including the John Hancock Regional Bank Fund. Madigan doesn't say how much he earned from those investments. That's not required either. Further, Madigan declares two free club memberships, and even United Airlines' gift of a flight for the 1999 Illinois-Cuba Humanitarian Mission.

Another lengthy response came from Rep. Mark Beaubien, a Barrington Hills Republican, who attached a two-page exhibit detailing sources of proceeds of less than \$5,000 from sales of such corporate stock as Exxon Mobil Corp. and Time Warner Telecom (though he listed no exact amounts, which aren't required), and income of more than \$5,000 from various stock holdings, such as Expedia and Martha Stewart. In the single-spaced list of corporations in which Beaubien, a banker, owns stock — including Illinois-based Walgreen and Caterpillar, and a Mundelein real estate partnership — most are actually owned by his wife Dee, the addendum notes. No value range is given for the stock. Lawmakers are not required to list such household investments unless they're controlled by the legislator, according to the secretary of state's office.

*Bill Knight*

legislative compliance. Though the penalty to lawmakers who willfully file false or incomplete data is a maximum \$1,000 fine and a year's imprisonment, no one has been prosecuted since the law was enacted in 1972.

Nevertheless, Illinoisans could see some changes in the law. In fact, disclosure reform is a national trend, according to one expert. "Legislatures are trying to strengthen ethics laws," says Peggy Kerns, a former Colorado state legislator who is heading the National Conference of State Legislatures' Center for Ethics in Government. "The laws must be more thorough and more accessible because public policy should be made in the public. Government should make sure it's provided. If the public doesn't care, that's still not a reason to not have strong disclosure laws. We must encourage the public to make use of it, too."

Rush says when people realize what's at stake they are concerned. "If people care about education, health care, insurance and the environment, they should care what is on these forms," she says. "State legislatures do not make decisions about the colors on the state flag. They make decisions about curriculum requirements, who can get a license to practice medicine, car insurance rates, the quality of drinking water.

"A citizen's work cannot be finished the second he or she steps out of a voting booth," she says. "People must continue to watch out for their best interests and hold legislators accountable when they put personal interests before the public good."

Some Illinois legislators agree.

Disclosure is more effective than prohibition, according to state Sen. Steven Rauschenberger, an Elgin Republican. "Disclosure sheds light, and — I think [the late U.S. Supreme Court Justice] Louis Brandeis said it — sunshine is a disinfectant."

Rauschenberger is the Senate sponsor of a measure, already approved by the House, that would address a couple of the concerns raised by Public Integrity and other ethics advocacy groups. That proposal, now languishing in the Senate Rules Committee, would no longer require

interested citizens to share personal information with lawmakers before looking at economic interest disclosure forms, and it would make completed forms available through the Internet.

The measure doesn't require more detailed reporting by lawmakers. Of course, such information wouldn't necessarily improve government, but it could help citizens understand their lawmakers' financial backgrounds and personal perspectives.

"Having an outside interest doesn't make someone bad," says Rauschenberger, who argues that the General Assembly is ideally a citizen legislature made up of people who work in Springfield a few months each year, and that what could seem to be a conflict of interest on paper could actually be a part-time representative with another job — one that could bring insight to a debate. "We don't work in a vacuum," he says.

Indeed, Sen. William O'Daniel, a Mount Vernon Democrat, is a farmer who is on the Agriculture & Conservation Committee. And Rep. Brent Hassert, a Romeoville Republican, is a landscape contractor who serves on the Environment & Energy Committee.

As for the measure to reform access to the disclosure forms, the House's only dissenting vote came from Mary Lou Cowlshaw, a Naperville Republican who thinks letting people review the forms in secret is inconsistent with openness. "I'm for open, accessible government, and everyone should be accountable — legislators and citizens," she says. "Public servants should be entitled to know who's playing games looking at these kinds of records. I just got some paper from a lobbyist for Baxter Healthcare Corp. documenting that they spent \$11.53 buying me lunch. Why wouldn't someone want it known that they're looking at my financial records?"

Despite Cowlshaw's reservations, at least some reform may be likely, says one supporter. But not soon. "There's a change with the public and the General Assembly," says Rep. Michael Smith, a Canton Democrat. "People have more awareness of possible conflicts, and a sensitivity to that appearance by legislators."





1-108A.1

# STATEMENT OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS TO BE FILED WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE

STEVEN J RAUSCHENBERGER  
750 JAY STREET  
ELGIN IL 60120

INDEX DEPARTMENT  
APR 26 2000  
IN THE OFFICE OF  
SECRETARY OF STATE

017576

☒ STATE SENATOR

(Office or Position of Employment for which this Statement is Filed)  
INCLUDE DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY

## GENERAL DIRECTIONS

The interest (if constructively controlled by the person making the statement) of a spouse or any other party, shall be considered to be the same as the interest of the person making the statement. Campaign receipts shall not be included in this statement.  
If additional space is needed, please attach supplemental listing.

1. List the name and instrument of ownership in any entity doing business in the State of Illinois, in which the ownership interest held by the person at the date of filing is in excess of \$5,000 fair market value or from which dividends in excess of \$1,200 were derived during the preceding calendar year. (In the case of real estate, location thereof shall be listed by street address, or if none, then by legal description.) No time or demand deposit in a financial institution nor any debt instrument need be listed.

Business Entity

Instrument of Ownership

NONE

2. List the name, address and type of practice of any professional organization in which the person making the statement was an officer, director, associate, partner or proprietor or served in any advisory capacity, from which fees in excess of \$1,200 were derived during the preceding calendar year.

Name

Address

NONE

3. List the nature of professional services rendered (other than to the State of Illinois) which were rendered if fees exceeding \$5,000 were received during the preceding calendar year. ("Professional services" means services rendered by the person making the statement, in the fields of engineering, medicine, architecture, dentistry or clinical psychology.)

NONE

4. List the identity (including the address or legal description of real estate) of any real estate, in which the person making the statement owned or more was realized during the preceding calendar year.

NONE

5. List the identity of any compensated lobbyist with whom the person making the statement maintains a close economic association, including the name of the lobbyist and specifying the legislative matter or matters which are the object of the lobbying activity and describing the general type of economic activity of the client or principal on whose behalf that person is lobbying.

Lobbyist

NONE

6. List the name of any entity doing business in the State of Illinois from which income in excess of \$1,200 was derived during the preceding calendar year other than for professional services and the title or description of any position held in that entity. (In the case of real estate, location thereof shall be listed by street address, or if none, then by legal description.) No time or demand deposit in a financial institution nor any debt instrument need be listed.

Entity

NONE

7. List the name of any unit of government which employed the person making the statement during the preceding calendar year other than the unit of government in relation to which the person is required to file.

Position Held

NONE

8. List the name of any entity from which a gift or gifts or honorarium or honoraria valued singly or in the aggregate in excess of \$500 was received during the preceding calendar year.

NONE

"I declare that this statement of economic interests (including any accompanying schedules and statements) has been examined by me and to the best of my knowledge and belief is a true, correct and complete statement of my economic interests as required by the Illinois Governmental Ethics Act. I understand that the penalty for willfully filing a false or incomplete statement shall be a fine not to exceed \$1,000 or imprisonment in a penal institution other than the penitentiary not to exceed one year, or both fine and imprisonment."

## VERIFICATION

*Steven J. Rauschenberger*  
(Signature of Person Making the Statement) 4/21/00  
(Date)

RECEIVED

APR 26 2000

SECRETARY OF STATE  
INDEX DEPARTMENT

On the other hand, he notes, politicians will be tied up in primary campaigns in the spring, then focus on November. And the gubernatorial race will be center stage. "I think it'll be hard to do anything until spring of 2003, when we'll have a new governor." □

Bill Knight is a Peoria journalist who teaches at Western Illinois University in Macomb. Assisting in online research were WIU journalism students Jacqueline Berger, Eric Danielson, Rachel Hays, Erin Langenberg, Colleen Lucas, James Ortiz, Jason Peake and Erin Real.

## RETIREMENT

**Frances Hulin** of Urbana retired January 21 as U.S. attorney for the Central District of Illinois.

Hulin has headed the U.S. Justice Department's central district office since 1993. Her successor, **Jan Paul Miller**, a former assistant U.S. attorney in Maryland, was tapped by U.S. Sen. Peter Fitzgerald last fall.

In her capacity as U.S. attorney, Hulin led the prosecution in the Management Services of Illinois Inc. corruption case. Federal investigators charged that owners of the computer consulting firm took fraudulent payments from the Illinois Department of Public Aid.

First appointed to the Justice Department in 1978, Hulin also was assistant state's attorney in Champaign and Macon counties. Prior to her appointment as a U.S. attorney, Hulin was supervising assistant U.S. attorney in the district's Danville/Urbana office.



## BIT

### Michael Bilandic

He got more headlines as a Chicago mayor, but had more impact as the author of landmark Illinois Supreme Court opinions, including one that ruled HMOs can be held liable for medical malpractice. Former Chief Justice Michael Bilandic, who retired a year ago December after a decade on the court, died January 15. He was 78.

As a Chicago alderman from 1969 to 1976, he championed environmental protection measures, including controls on phosphates in detergents.

"His significance cut across all three branches of Illinois government," says state Appellate Court Justice Allen Hartman, who served with Bilandic on the appellate court and was assistant corporation counsel when he joined the city council.

## SHIFTS AT THE TOP

**Laura Anderson** of Elmhurst was named chief of staff for House Republican Leader Lee Daniels.

Anderson, a 16-year member of Daniels' staff, had been acting chief of staff since December, replacing Mike Tristano, who resigned last year and is now a member of the Pollution Control Board. Anderson, former director of Daniels' Elmhurst office, was named deputy director of Daniels' staff in 2000. Her appointment as chief of staff became effective January 1.

**Mark McDonald**, who was public affairs officer for the Illinois State Police for more than eight years, has taken a new assignment.

The Springfield resident is now public relations representative for the Prairie Heart Institute at St. John's Hospital in Springfield.

McDonald, a former anchor on WICS-TV in Springfield, says he had been looking for a challenge when the position at the Prairie Heart Institute became available. The institute performs heart transplants and implants artificial heart devices.

## UPDATE

### Rebel whooper killed

A renegade whooping crane who participated in an ultralight-led migration from Wisconsin to Florida was killed by a bobcat.

The whooper, unwilling to join the six surviving cranes in an Operation Migration journey, rode to Florida in a truck.

The remains of the bird, known as **No. 4**, were found about 40 yards outside an enclosure at the Chassahowitzka National Wildlife Refuge. (See *Illinois Issues*, November 2000, page 9; July/August 2001, page 8; and January, page 8).

## Dollars for September 11 research

Five Illinois groups will receive grants from the **John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation** to study issues raised by the terrorist attacks. The groups are the **Heartland Alliance**, the **Crossroads Fund**, the **Chicago Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law Inc.**, the **Chicago Council on Foreign Relations** and the **National Opinion Research Center**. They will receive a combined total of \$480,000.

The foundation has pledged \$5 million in grants to organizations nationwide. The recipients will address a range of questions, including how U.S. interests and responsibilities are developing in light of new security threats and how citizens are to move forward in their day-to-day existence.

## QUOTABLE

“You don’t want the attorney general running around litigating.”

Mayor Richard Daley, in the *Chicago Tribune*, explaining why he endorses Lisa Madigan, daughter of House Speaker Michael Madigan, over John Schmidt, the mayor's one-time chief of staff, in the Democratic primary for attorney general.

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*Contributors as of December 31, 2001*

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## After-effects of September 11 hitting poor the hardest

The life of every American has been altered by the tragedy of September 11, and none of us is leading life the same as before the destruction of the World Trade Center. Despite the urgent call by government officials to carry on our lives as normally as possible, the reality is that many lives have been violently disrupted by the economic downturn that preceded September 11 and has since been exacerbated by its after-effects.

Congress recently underscored the importance of the airlines industry by allocating \$15 billion to support the industry in its time of need. And yet, the entire federal welfare program is only \$16.5 billion. There is something drastically wrong with this picture.

Prior to September 11, many people already were living in borderline poverty or below, despite gaining marginal employment

during the recent good times. These Americans now face losing their jobs as well as the safety net of welfare that was dismantled in the name of "reform."

According to the U.S. Department of Labor, the number of unemployed persons in the nation increased by 732,000 to 7.7 million in October. Each of those unemployed people has a family and, collectively, those families include millions of children who also are seriously impacted. In Chicago, a public housing policy that calls for the demolition of existing public housing is intensifying the affordable housing shortage. There are currently about 30,000 applicants on the waiting list, and the number in need of housing promises to grow much larger. Homeless shelters and food pantries are being swamped with new people suddenly in need of a hot meal and a place to sleep. These Americans are struggling to save their families (see page 9).

Social service agencies like Chicago Area Project and our 40-plus affiliated community-based organizations are the first line of defense in this important struggle. And yet, just at a time of greatest need, many social service agencies throughout Illinois and the United States are facing the specter of reduced funding. The business downturn is dramatically impacting state and federal budgets. This, in turn, often translates into less money for crucial social programs.

Urgent consideration must be given to the economic security of the nation's poorest people, most of them children, during these troubled times. Chicago Area Project and other social service agencies stand ready to work with and for those living in poverty and struggling for survival. We urge the public to stand with us to assure that the weakest among us are not forgotten.

**David E. Whittaker**  
Executive Director

**Steven Tomashefsky**  
Chairman of the Board  
Chicago Area Project

## Book review or boosterism?

In the glowing review of Taylor Pensoneau's new book *Brothers Notorious* (see *Illinois Issues*, January, page 15), could not Ryan Reeves and *Illinois Issues* have found a line or two to mention that the book's author is vice chair of the magazine's advisory board? Not that *Illinois Issues* would back-slap its advisory second-in-command. No way. No sirree, bob.

Still, for the benefit of the casual reader who might not know the magazine would not ever, ever lower itself to such a thing as self-boosterism, you could have red-flagged the review with a disclosure about Mr. Pensoneau's involvement with *Illinois Issues*.

**Phil Luciano**  
Peoria

## Corrections

As a reader noted, Charles Percy was elected to three terms in the U.S. Senate, starting in 1966 and leaving in 1985 (see January, page 35).

Also, two constitutional officers ran against each other in the 1994 Democratic gubernatorial primary (see January, page 18).

## Write us

Your comments are welcome. Please keep them brief (250 words). We reserve the right to excerpt them.



Letters to the Editor  
*Illinois Issues*  
University of Illinois at Springfield  
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Patrick E. Gauen



## Statewide, southern Illinois has no dog in the electoral hunt

by Patrick E. Gauen

Wayne Bridgewater may not have been tactful, but he certainly was to the point. As chairman of the panel redistricting Madison County, he announced — promised actually — that he would jam his plan, well, where the Republicans wouldn't like it. This, as though the Democrats' 24-5 majority weren't already enough.

Faulting Bridgewater for everything except lack of candor, the GOP pushed back with a lawsuit that ended up in the lap of David Herndon, a federal judge whose career enjoyed support of Madison County Democrats as he ascended from private practice to associate judge in the third circuit to Bill Clinton appointee.

Herndon didn't mention jamming anything anywhere, but he went about as far as a man in a black robe can go in offering Bridgewater a dose of his own elixir. The majority plan represented "the worst of politics" and was "characterized by threats, coercion, bullying and a skewed view of the law," said Herndon in tossing out the remap.

A hastily drawn replacement plan put Homer Henke, an auctioneer from Hamel and dean of the board Republicans, into the same district as Rudy Papa, a retired teacher and staunch Democrat from Bethalto who for six years had been the board majority's choice for chairman. But just when it looked like a knock-down, drag-out battle, both men simply announced they would retire.

---

*There is not a serious countywide contest, primary or otherwise, in southern Illinois' two big counties, Madison and St. Clair.*

This was a horrible letdown from a theatrical point of view, as we head into an election season worthy of Broadway on the state level but without even a solid first act for Metro East.

There is not a serious countywide contest, primary or otherwise, in southern Illinois' two big counties, Madison and St. Clair. The only major change is that William Haine, midway through his fourth term as state's attorney of Madison County, is running for the Illinois Senate.

Unopposed, naturally. It's the seat from which Evelyn Bowles, now 80, a Democrat from Edwardsville, is retiring.

Legislative reapportionment has changed plenty of boundaries hereabouts, but seems to have caused little jeopardy that the advantage of incumbency, combined with the apathy of potential challengers, cannot overcome. Most notable is the House seat vacated by Tom Ryder, a Jerseyville

Republican, who went to work as veep of the Illinois Community College Board. Three Democrats and a Republican, none with great name recognition, are running in the 97th District, which pundits believe could swing either way come November 5.

U.S. Rep. Jerry Costello, a Democrat from Belleville, appears to be simply beyond reach, with no "name" opposition. A recent dust-up over whether Costello helped get his son a job with Secretary of State Jesse White — and whether \$50,000 a year is too much to pay the young man to shuffle car dealer paperwork in four counties — will have no electoral impact on the 12th District congressman. He has previously weathered far worse.

There is hope for excitement in the melding of U.S. Rep. John Shimkus' 20th District into U.S. Rep. David Phelps' 19th, made necessary by Illinois' latest decennial loss of a House seat. Democrat Phelps, a former state rep and gospel singer from Eldorado, had been penned into Republican Rep. Timothy Johnson's 15th District. But he deduced that Shimkus, a former civics teacher and county treasurer from Collinsville, would be the easier Republican to challenge.

Statewide, southern Illinois has no dog in the electoral hunt. U.S. Sen. Dick Durbin, seeking a second term, grew up in East St. Louis, of course, but based his political career in Springfield. Fellow Democrat Roland Burris can claim roots in Centralia in his third try for the nomination for governor, but it's a hard sell after you've once run for mayor of Chicago.

If the Shimkus-Phelps race turns dull, I figured we could always count on the fiery Wayne Bridgewater's battle against the vengeful GOP to keep his 15th District seat on the Madison County Board. But wait! The only ones trying to knock him off are three challengers in the primary. Apparently it was easier for the Republicans to win the remap fight than to find a candidate to take on the enemy mapper. □

Patrick E. Gauen writes an Illinois column for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Charles N. Wheeler III



## One-party legislative races after remap counter conventional wisdom

by Charles N. Wheeler III

*"In this world nothing can be said to be certain, except death and taxes."*

Benjamin Franklin, 1789

Were Old Ben around today, he might be tempted to amend his well-known maxim to add a third category: a sure General Assembly seat for whoever wins the primary in most of the state's new legislative districts.

He'd need no crystal ball; a quick glance at who's running would suffice. He'd see that in only 17 Senate and 53 House districts did both major parties field candidates. In the other 42 Senate and 65 House districts, only one party's hopefuls are on the March ballot.

The lack of competition might dismay Franklin and his fellow Founders. It certainly runs counter to conventional political wisdom, which says the election after redistricting should see a bumper crop of candidates, encouraged by a new political geography that prompts some incumbents to retire, places others on unfamiliar turf and even offers a few open districts with no sitting lawmaker.

The reasoning seems sound. In fact, more than 30 lawmakers are stepping down, some to run for the other chamber or statewide office, some

*Mounting a credible campaign requires a great deal of time, energy and money, so it probably should be no surprise that the role of designated loser is not that appealing.*

to pursue other interests or retire. Many of those hoping to stay find themselves in districts radically restructured under the new map, while in 12 Senate and 21 House districts, no incumbent is running. Yet, despite all the upheaval, the level of competition is at its lowest in decades.

The trend toward one-party races seems especially strong in the Senate, with 42 districts uncontested after candidate filings for the March primary. In contrast, the primary after the 1991 remap saw only 32 districts with candidates of only one of the major parties on the ballot. Competition was even keener after the 1981 redistricting, with primary candidates from both parties in 36

districts. But even that was a dramatic drop from 1972, which saw both Democrats and Republicans running in 55 of the 59 districts crafted under the 1971 map.

Would-be senators can write themselves in for an open nomination, of course, and party leaders can fill vacant spots after the primary, setting up contests for November, at least on paper. But those races are rarely competitive. In 1991, for example, 16 Senate candidates were added after the primary, none of whom garnered even 45 percent of the vote. In fact, in the last five elections, no late-starting candidate has won a Senate seat, a 0-for-34 streak in futility. Only four broke 40 percent; one claimed less than 7 percent of the vote.

Perhaps the most plausible explanation for the dearth of competition lies in the skill of the mapmakers. Armed with sophisticated computer software that marries census data to precinct voting behavior with ever-greater precision, they are able to produce districts that are virtual locks for one party or the other, and both partisan camps know it. Mounting a credible campaign requires a great deal of time, energy and money, so it probably should be no surprise that the role of designated loser is not that appealing. And because Democrats drew the map this time, most of the designated losers likely would be Republicans.

In fact, the clever cartography was intended to produce Democratic majorities in both the Senate and the House over the next decade. A review of the candidate filings for March suggests the plan is right on track. Consider the Senate, where Republicans now hold a 32-27 edge. Republicans have no Democratic challengers in 16 districts, virtually guaranteeing their election in November. But Democrats are uncontested in 26 districts, just four shy of the 30 needed for a majority. So the party needs to win in only four of 17 contested districts to end a 10-year



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GOP hold on the Senate.

Democratic hopefuls in the 17 contested districts include four incumbents elected under a less favorable map drawn by Republicans in 1991: Sens. Louis Viverito of Burbank, Pat Welch of Peru, William O'Daniel of Mount Vernon and James Clayborne Jr. of Belleville. Two others are House members hoping to move up in new suburban districts: Reps. Jeffrey Schoenberg of Evanston and Susan Garrett of Lake Forest, who has a primary challenge for the chance to face Sen. Kathleen Parker, a Northbrook Republican, in November. Finally, another of the contested districts runs from Chicago's West Side out to O'Hare International Airport and includes among its residents some 45,000 African Americans and more than 44,000 Hispanics, together comprising 42.4 percent of the total population.

Democrats easily could win all seven districts, so victory in at least four — and thus a Senate majority — seems a

---

***November is still 10 months away, of course, and the political landscape can shift dramatically before then.***

***Heading into Election 2002, though, Democrats have the edge in legislative races.***

pretty safe prediction.

In the House, Democrats appear to be in a similarly favorable position to retain the majority — now 62-56 — they've held since 1997 despite the Republican map. No Republicans filed in 36 districts, while Democrats took a pass in 29. While the percentage of contests is higher than in the Senate, the difference is deceptive.

The contested districts include 11 in which the majority of residents are either black or Hispanic, and no

minority district has ever elected a Republican in a one-on-one race. Incumbent Democrats, including House Speaker Michael Madigan of Chicago, are running in 13 other contested districts, while Sen. Robert Molaro of Chicago is seeking a House seat from a district rooted in the Southwest Side. Lastly, in two new suburban districts, one in Lake County and another centered in Aurora, blacks and Hispanics added together make up the majority of residents. In all, that's 27 districts in which Democrats should be heavy favorites, for a potential total of 63.

November is still 10 months away, of course, and the political landscape can shift dramatically before then. Heading into Election 2002, though, Democrats have the edge in legislative races, thanks to a map that has the GOP conceding more than a third of the districts before a single vote is cast. □

*Charles N. Wheeler III is director of the Public Affairs Reporting Program at the University of Illinois at Springfield.*

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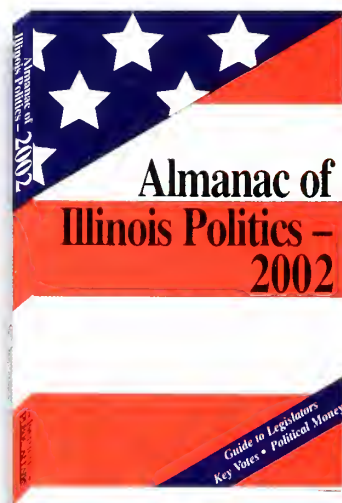
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